
**Special Academic Convocation
in Honor of His All Holiness
Patriarch Dimitrios I**

BISHOP METHODIOS

ON BEHALF OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES, THE ADMINISTRATION, FACULTIES, students, and staff of Hellenic College-Holy Cross, I extend a warm welcome to you. Thank you for joining us today at this special convocation. I especially greet the hierarchs and the distinguished entourage who accompany our beloved Ecumenical Patriarch. I welcome the Ecumenical Church Community, the judicatory heads, the Massachusetts Council of Churches, the Massachusetts Council of Christian Unity and our Orthodox brethren. I welcome the members of the Boston Theological Community. In the person of my good friend Dr. John Silber, I welcome all our colleagues representing colleges and universities in the Greater Boston area. This is truly a historic and blessed day for the Hellenic College-Holy Cross Community.

Your Holiness, Hellenic College-Holy Cross is the noblest, most creative, and most expressive manifestation of the vision and faith of the faithful of this Archdiocese. No other church in the world is so identified with an academic institution as is our Archdiocese with Hellenic College-Holy Cross. The institution is the guarantor of the future of the Greek Orthodox Church in this hemisphere. Here, the priceless features of our faith and culture are entrusted from generation to generation of students. In fact, since 1937, when founded by the then visionary Archbishop — later to become Patriarch Athenagoras — over 550 graduates of this institution have served as clergymen throughout the Western Hemisphere, and indeed the whole world.

We are the beneficiaries of a great *Parakatathiki* — a sacred treasure, which is the foundation of this institution, guided these past thirty-one years by Archbishop Iakovos who labors tirelessly so that Hellenic College-Holy Cross may continue the long legacy of excellence of the Patriarchal School at Halki.

Here, theological education is cultivated in close relationship with liturgical experience, the needs of the Church, and the existential needs of modern society. We do not deny the past nor are we blind to present-day realities. We believe that in order to face the challenges of the third millenium, our students must be deeply rooted theologically and culturally. Keenly knowledgeable of our Greek and Orthodox cultures, strengthened by their dynamism, we strive to manifest the catholicity and relevance of our faith.

The honorary Doctorate of Divinity to be presented to you, Your All Holiness, the leader of world Orthodoxy, is the expression of the love, respect, and devotion we have for your person and the Ecumenical Patriarchate. As our father and celebrant of the catholicity of Orthodoxy, you teach us the tenets of the faith through your theologically profound messages, and through your ecumenical initiatives by which you express the message of salvation which leads all to the unity of faith in truth.

Through your Pan-Orthodox and ecumenical pilgrimage of reconciliation, peace, and unity, you convey to all the peoples of the world the assurance that Christ is the fulfillment of the expectations of humanity, the only sure foundation of universal peace.

Hellenic College-Holy Cross joyfully celebrate your blessed presence in Boston. Today's convocation is the beginning of a new era in the life of this institution. You honor us greatly by accepting this expression of our love and respect.

**Hellenic College
Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology**

**CITATION FOR THE HONORARY DEGREE
DOCTOR OF DIVINITY**

**DIMITRIOS I, Archbishop of Constantinople,
New Rome and Ecumenical Patriarch.
Spiritual Leader of World Orthodoxy, Ecumenical Pastor and
Teacher of the Church Universal**

BORN AND EDUCATED IN CONSTANTINOPLE, HIS ALL HOLINESS THE ECUMENICAL Patriarch Dimitrios I received his theological degree from the Patriarchal School at Halki in 1937. Ordained Deacon in 1937 and Presbyter in 1942, he was elected Bishop of Elaia in 1964 and Metropolitan of Imvros and Tenedos in 1972. On July 16, 1972, he was elected Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome, and Ecumenical Patriarch. For eighteen consecutive years, he has been the spiritual leader of World Orthodoxy, leading and guiding the Church in the ways of faith and truth, concord and peace, agape and diakonia, as proclaimed by Jesus Christ the Lord and his Eastern Orthodox Church.

Since your election to the Ecumenical Throne, Your All Holiness, you have intensified your strong and enthusiastic support of paideia. The many professors, teachers, and pedagogues who have approached you have immediately experienced your warm patriarchal appreciation of their work, your commitment to the cause of an authentic Orthodox Christian education, and your full paternal blessings upon their noble but difficult task.

You have been a central figure in strengthening the bond of love, unity, and cooperation among the Orthodox Churches. Your historic 1987 visits to the Orthodox Patriarchates and Autocephalous Churches have been hailed as events of great importance for contemporary Orthodoxy. Through your presence, your evangelical meekness, love, faith, and your wise patriarchal counsel, you have conveyed to the churches which you have visited a renewed sense of Orthodox ethos, vision, and mission, while you have sharpened the awareness of the need for a Pan-Orthodox concord and unity.

You have also advanced the cause of Christian unity in a substantive way, a way of love which leads toward unity without sacrificing the truth entrusted to the Church by her Founder, a way of mutual understanding among the divided Christian Churches without abandoning the sacred Apostolic Tradition which has nourished the Church for twenty centuries. Through your historic theological message of August 1973 to the World Council of Churches, through your decision to form a Pan-Orthodox Commission for a dialogue with the Roman Catholic Church in December 1975, and through your visits to Rome and to Canterbury in 1987, you have affirmed the basic principles which should guide the task of Orthodoxy within the ecumenical endeavor. Your two homilies in the Basilicas of Santa Maria Maggiore and St. Peter on December 5 and 6, 1987, during your meeting with Pope John Paul II, are outstanding examples of what Orthodoxy can offer toward ecumenical rapprochement.

You have shown concern for the environment with the decision to lead the Orthodox Church in the issuance of a message of the integrity of creation and the designation of September 1, the first day of the ecclesiastical year, as an annual day of prayer of and thanksgiving for the great gift of creation and for the protection of the environment.

In recognition of these many achievements, your outstanding patriarchal diakonia to the mission, action, and witness of our Ecumenical Patriarchate; your decisive work in advancing Christian education and theological paideia; your leadership in promoting pan-Orthodox unity and cooperation, as well as your contribution to the cause of Christian unity and ecumenical understanding, we have, in deep reverence, asked you to give us the exceptional and unprecedented privilege of honoring you and of joining your venerable name with that of our sacred institution, Hellenic College and Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology TIMHΣ ENEKEN.

July 27, 1990

Address
of His All Holiness, the Ecumenical Patriarch,
DIMITRIOS I
at the Conferring on Him the Honorary Doctorate of Divinity
by Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology,
Brookline, Mass. (July 27, 1990)

Most Reverend Archbishop Iakovos,
The Right Reverend Bishops,
Learned Ladies and Gentlemen,
Reverend Deans and Faculty,
Blessed Co-workers of Hellenic College-
Holy Cross School of Theology,
Distinguished Guests,

This celebratory occasion, in which the faculty of our Theological School was most kind to confer on my humble person the highest academic distinction — the title of Honorary Doctor of Orthodox Divinity — represents a truly historic moment, not alone for me personally, but surely for the relationship of this institution, a daughter institution of higher spiritual learning, to the venerable Ecumenical Throne.

I count myself especially blessed by God because, while bearing the supreme responsibility and identity of Ecumenical Patriarch, he has found me worthy to visit the Holy Archdiocese of America and, in particular, its Theological School, thus inaugurating, by God's grace, a new chapter in our existing warm and close relationship.

The Honorary Degree of Doctor of Orthodox Divinity which in filial love you have kindly conferred on me is truly the highest academic distinction, and most fitting for an Orthodox hierarch. As is well known, the primary and most important duty of an Orthodox bishop is to teach rightly the word of God's truth, so that as father of his spiritual flock he may guide it to holiness and into saving pastures.

This is precisely why the Church Fathers always carried the virtually synonymous title of "Teacher," while in the West the actual academic term of "Doctor Ecclesiae" was used.

Unfortunately, the multiple duties of administration do not allow hierarchs in modern times the leisure to dwell on the sacred science

and theological learning as in the ancient Church, though by no means should this be interpreted as indifference or contempt for the importance of theology. *Orthodoxy*, even as a technical term characterizing the Church in its entirety, represents something which is utterly and preeminently theological in essence, in contrast to the heterodox.

I wish once again to assure all of you who with love for God serve theological learning in this sacred greenhouse of faith, that in the Church we do not take for granted the worth of any activity unless it is manifestly rooted and justified theologically. Moreover, as it has been often and rightly emphasized, in the Church the terms *Orthodoxia* and *Orthopraxis* are totally interrelated because in the divinely-inspired patristic language, "praxis" must always demonstrate "superiority over theory."

Therefore, my brothers and sisters, "stand firm and hold to the traditions which you were taught . . . either by word of mouth or by letter" (2 Thes 2.15) of the Apostles, the Fathers and Teachers, the Confessors and Ascetics, the Martyrs and Saints who, being tortured, fell asleep in the Lord.

Truly, "this faith established the universe."

I thank you again, together with my fellow hierarchs, for the moving honor that has been paid today to the Ecumenical Throne, to the Mother Church, and to me personally. I wish you abundantly the illumination of the Holy Spirit always, to continue unimpeded your sacred work under the skillful guidance of my esteemed brother, your energetic and learned Archbishop Iakovos.

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Statement of the Inter-Orthodox Commission for the Theological Dialogue between the Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church

INTER-ORTHODOX COMMISSION

1. WE, THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CHURCHES OF CONSTANTINOPLE, Alexandria, Antioch, Russia, Serbia, Roumania, Georgia, Greece, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Finland to the Theological Dialogue between the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Churches, convened at the Phanar in an extraordinary convocation — at the invitation of his All Holiness the Ecumenical Patriarch Dimitrios who responded, in his coordinating responsibility, to the relevant request of the Orthodox Delegation to the Joint Commission assembled at Freising, and under the chairmanship of His Eminence Metropolitan Bartholomaios of Chalcedon who was especially invited to chair this meeting, as well as in the presence of the members of the synodical commissions of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, on Inter-Orthodox matters on the one hand, and on the Dialogue with the Roman Catholic Church on the other hand — discussed thoroughly for two days (December 11-12, 1990) the acute problem of Uniatism which exists in different countries of Eastern Europe in order to evaluate more accurately the abnormal situation created and to reach a common decision as to our attitude toward the Theological Dialogue begun ten years ago.

2. The representatives of the Orthodox Churches directly afflicted by Uniatism, particularly in recent times in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, described at length the situation and dramatic events taking place to the detriment of the Orthodox, which surpass every imagination and which have filled all the participants with bit-

terness and disappointment. All the participants agreed that the revitalization of Uniatism today is accompanied by the bold violation of human rights and religious freedom. This is expressed in particular by the use of direct violence against individuals through the abuse of the legislative process, as well as through the suspect manipulation of the institutions of the State administration.

3. Likewise, reference was made to the efforts made up to now for a peaceful and just settlement of the relevant local problems, as well as to the contiguous strong representations made by the primates of the Orthodox Churches in question to the Vatican and to all responsible authorities as well as by the Ecumenical Patriarchate to the Vatican, all of which unfortunately have borne no result toward improving the situation.

4. All the participants agreed that the Dialogue existing between the Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church should become an efficient mechanism for overcoming problems which occur between both Churches because of the revitalization of Uniatism. This very problem dangerously reverses the objectives of the Dialogue. It is quite evident that without a positive solution to the problem, all the efforts of the Orthodox and of the Roman Catholics towards promoting the relations between them and achieving the objectives of the Dialogue will be in vain. Therefore, all the participants believe that the theme of Uniatism must be the sole theme of our Dialogue today. . . . In this Dialogue both partners are called upon to elaborate together a framework of principles for settling the relations between the Orthodox and Uniates, and on this basis to contribute to the elimination of acts of violence in specific regions. Under these presuppositions, the Dialogue will help Orthodox and Roman Catholics to bring about not only temporary peace, but a just, radical, and final solution to the problem.

5. Following the irregular situation created — and which in many ways persists — in the relations between the Orthodox and the Uniates, there certainly can be no justifiable optimism for the further continuation of the Theological Dialogue, if the common Statement of the Joint Commission for the Dialogue, convened in Freising, did not exist as the only positive sign to the issue at hand, through which statement — without overlooking the religious freedom of the Uniates — the method of Uniatism was unanimously rejected as completely contrary to the ecclesiology of communion and to the spirit of sister Churches, especially when the latter are involved in the

dialogue.

6. This common Statement of Freising in which Uniatism as a method is rejected, must constitute the starting point and the basis for further deliberations on the matter within the framework of the Theological Dialogue.

7. Once this major question is settled in a just and Christian manner, the Theological Dialogue would be then expanded, unhindered to all the subjects foreseen by its organic development.

8. In order to normalize the relations between Orthodox and Uniates, it was recognized that it would be useful to evaluate annually, within the framework of the Inter-Orthodox Commission for the Dialogue with the Roman Catholic Church, Orthodox/Roman Catholic relations, including the situation in regions involved in conflict.

**Greeting
of His All Holiness the Ecumenical Patriarch
DIMITRIOS I
to the Pan-Orthodox Delegation to the Theological
Dialogue with the Roman Catholic Church**

**DEARLY BELOVED BROTHERS REPRESENTING THE MOST-HOLY LOCAL
autocephalous Orthodox Churches,**

We greet you with genuine joy and much brotherly esteem, having come at our invitation to discuss, as the single family of Orthodoxy under God's protection, the particularly important and burning issue which, as such, was not able to evade the due circumspection expected of each of us.

First, I extend to all a warm welcome, and hope that your brief stay here will not only be pleasant, but also that God will render it fruitful in many ways.

Having vigilantly followed, along with the Holy Synod, the commendable efforts undertaken thus far by the Pan-Orthodox Delegation to the Theological Dialogue with the Roman Catholic Church, so that our Roman Catholic counterparts might understand how immense the problem of Uniatism and that of contiguous proselytism is for us, we nurtured the hope in God that the relevant discussions held within the framework of our official ecclesial Dialogue with Rome would have guaranteed the requisite basis of brotherly consent in finding a solution to this extremely thorny and complex problem.

This hope, nurtured by us all, had been revived even further after the common Statement reached at Freising-Munich, condemning Uniatism as a method totally incompatible with the most fundamental principles of the sound ecclesiology of the undivided Church, as they are unhesitatingly recognized today by both our Churches

engaged in the Dialogue of love and truth.

Moreover, such an optimistic perspective was totally justifiable, especially after the distinction — theologically accurate and indeed pastorally imperative — made between Uniatism as a *method* on the one hand, and the *people* as a result of Uniatism on the other.

Unfortunately, however, our honest hopes regarding this issue have not only not been filled, but on the contrary, they have led our Pan-Orthodox Delegation to the Theological Dialogue to a dreadful impasse due to the improper events which continue to take place in Western Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Roumania, Poland, Serbia, and other Eastern European countries, and which are denounced by the Orthodox primates of these countries with pain in their voice, desperation, and bitter complaint, because they had hoped that the fruits resulting from the Dialogue initiated more than ten years ago would have been different.

Certainly, the problem of Uniatism, in general — the historical and psychological complexity of which we by no means wish to overlook — would be a *prodigious pain* for us all even if we were not engaged in dialogue with Rome, because it is a question of an *ecclesiological anomaly* of the first degree.

Of course, it was natural for such an anomaly to influence not only negatively the relations between Christians, but also to expose all of Christianity in the eyes of the whole of humanity, so that indeed “the name of God is blasphemed unto all the nations on our account.” Who could ever imagine that “Perestroika,” which was received so jubilantly by all as a presupposition of the blessed socio-political developments which would benefit the peoples of Eastern Europe, would otherwise give rise to the possibility of bringing to light so much hatred and so much fanaticism — let us not say barbarism — in the relations between Orthodox and Roman Catholics of the Greek Rite?

Therefore, the problem of Uniatism, which — independently from the Dialogue — should be dealt with courage and effectively so as not to create further anomalies and injustices, becomes an even greater provocation when — despite the continuation of the Theological Dialogue and despite the vigorous steps we specifically have taken toward the Vatican — it continues to be bolstered in all its acrimony and not only does it poison the relations between Orthodox and Roman Catholics, but it also makes the collaboration among the Orthodox extremely arduous and problematic.

This is, therefore, the reason for calling this Pan-Orthodox Consultation which was anxiously requested of the Church of Constantinople by all the Orthodox representatives to the Dialogue. And the Church of Constantinople, bearing here too the coordinating responsibility of the Proto-throne Church, has called you, dear brothers, to assure you, in a more solemn manner, as to her vigilant concern with this issue and to remind you fraternally of the firm solidarity that must exist between us in a common obligation assumed publicly and freely as is the official Theological Dialogue with Rome. It is, of course, superfluous to say that such reciprocity of obligation must be expressed in unity as much among us, as before God and men, since we comprise the single and undivided Orthodoxy.

We must therefore decide in common as to how the Dialogue will progress further, because it is not just, nor is it right to give the impression of dissolution as has been the case during the last few years of the Dialogue by the refusal of practically half of the Orthodox representatives to attend.

Therefore, we hope and fervently pray that the Lord will enlighten you so that in oneness of mind and in oneness of soul you will come to a decision on this issue, a decision which not only will deal with the immediate problem of Uniatism, but also one which will be a trustee of the sanctity and the sublime goal of the Dialogue. May the Lord be with you all, my brothers. Amen.

Translated by Professor Evie Zachariades-Holmberg

**Address to His Holiness
Pope John Paul the Second by
His Reverence Metropolitan Bartholomaios
of Chalcedon, Head of the Delegation of the
Ecumenical Patriarchate during the Feastday of
Saint Peter in Rome
(June 29, 1990)**

YOUR HOLINESS,

HAVING CELEBRATED TOGETHER THE HOLY AND REDEEMING EASTER and having jointly called upon the enlightenment of the Paraclete on the day of Pentecost which is the affirmation of the Resurrection, we, the Churches of Rome and Constantinople, meet today by the tomb of the one, who according to Photios, is the "coryphaeus of the apostolic chorus," in order to honor once again in a communal celebration his memory and that of the Apostle to the Nations, both of them being patron saints and protectors of the sister Church of Rome.

On this joyous day we bring the congratulations and best wishes of the Ecumenical Patriarchate to your Church and to you personally, your Holiness, we bring the embrace of your brother in Christ, Patriarch Dimitrios.

Our meeting this year during your installation celebration coincides with a difficult time in the relations between our two Churches. A shadow is being cast because of the thorny problem of the Eastern Churches under your jurisdiction which nearly led the recent convention of the Mixed Committee on our Theological Dialogue to the brink of disaster.

For this reason, we need at this time stronger prayer and greater self-control and most of all, greater love. Fortunately, the members

of the Mixed Committee have proven that they possess these virtues and have decided to recommend the continuation of the Dialogue, because the Dialogue is holy; it is the "march of Churches, of the people of God, for love and truth," or, according to the expression of Your Holiness, the route of the Dialogue is the one that leads to the perfect communion of our Churches. It is the route of the Dialogue, and not the unionist methods of the past, the consequences of which we still suffer today.

Today, it has been commonly recognized that the "solutions of the future are elsewhere": in the model of the "sister Churches," within the context of the eucharistic ecclesiology of communion. This is why Your Holiness spoke about "the search for new routes again, which lead to the target we are hoping for."

The completion this year of twenty-five years since the lifting of the anathemas among our Churches and of ten years since the beginning of our Theological Dialogue should lead us on the one hand toward the glorification of the Lord of history, under whose grace together we march on toward the fulfillment of his will "so that all be one" (John 17.21), and on the other hand, it should lead us to the decision of proceeding to build ahead, loving, communicating, praying. And this should be accomplished far from any demonstration of boasting or vindictiveness, far from the "ideology" of proselytization in the Orthodox countries which are being considered as "opportune for such a mission," and far from the spasmodic movements for the interruption of the Dialogue of love and truth, in a spirit of humility, which "also constitutes part of ecclesiology" (see Phil 2.1-11; Gal 6.1-2; Eph 5.24-27) and in fear of God and in awareness of our responsibility toward the new creation. "And the God of love and peace will be with us" (2 Cor 13.11), leading us through the Spirit of truth "toward all truth" (John 16.13).

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An Agreed Statement on Conciliarity and Primacy in the Church

THE ORTHODOX-ROMAN CATHOLIC CONSULTATION IN THE UNITED STATES

FOR THE PAST THREE YEARS, THE ORTHODOX-ROMAN CATHOLIC Consultation in the United States of America has been studying questions related to the theology and practice of councils and to the exercise of primacy in our churches. Our papers and discussions prompted the following reflections, which we now offer in hope that they will advance the work of the international Orthodox-Roman Catholic dialogue, and the wider relations among the churches, as they have advanced our own understanding of these issues.

1. In both Orthodox and Roman Catholic theology, the Church is the mystery of God-given unity among human beings, who are bound together by their faith in the risen Lord and by the transforming gift of the Holy Spirit into the divine and human fellowship (*koinonia*) we call the Body of Christ (1 Cor 12.13). Joined by the Holy Spirit to the Son in his loving obedience to the Father's will, the Church manifests redeemed creation within the embrace of the Triune reality of God, calling God "Abba! Father!" by the gift of the Spirit of his Son (Gal 4.6), as it strives towards the fullness of his Kingdom.

2. Individual human persons become sharers in this mystery through sharing in the Church's profession of the apostolic faith and through baptism "in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit" (Mat 28.19). "Born" there into the Church's life "by water and the Holy Spirit" (Jn 3.5), they may now "consider themselves dead to sin and alive to God in Christ Jesus" (Rom 6.11).

So the Church, in its most extensive and inclusive sense, genuinely comprises all those who profess the apostolic faith and are baptized in the name of the Holy Trinity, recognizing them as "fellow citizens with the saints and members of the household of God" (Eph 2.19).

3. When it gathers, under the life-giving impulse of the Holy Spirit, to celebrate in the Eucharist the Son's "obedience unto death" (Phil 2.8) and to be nourished by participation in his risen life, the Church most fully expresses what, in God's order of salvation, it is: an assembly of faithful human persons who are brought into communion by and with the persons of the Holy Trinity, and who look forward to the fulfilment of that communion in eternal glory. So the clearest human reflection of the Church's divine vocation is the Christian community united to celebrate the Eucharist, gathered by its common faith, in all its variety of persons and functions, around a single table, under a single president (*proestos*), to hear the Gospel proclaimed and to share in the sacramental reality of the Lord's flesh and blood (Ignatius, Eph 5.2-3; Philad. 4), and so to manifest those gathered there as "partakers of the divine nature" (2 Pet 1.4). "If you are the Body of Christ and his members," proclaims Saint Augustine, "your divine mystery is set on the table of the Lord; you receive your own mystery . . . Be what you see and receive what you are" (Serm. 272).

4. The mystery of Christ's Church, in its fullness, is therefore most directly and clearly encountered in the Eucharistic community. Each local Church, recognized in its celebration of the Eucharist, is a full sacramental realization of the one Church of Christ, provided it remains within the full apostolic faith and is bound in love and mutual recognition to the other communities who profess that faith. The Church in each place expresses its participation in the universal Church through its celebration of the one Eucharist and in its concern for the worldwide spread of the Gospel and for the welfare and right faith of its sister communities, as well as in its prayer for their needs and the needs of the world.

5. United with Christ and within itself by the divine gifts of faith and love and by the other chrisms and sacramental events which enliven it, the Church is also "set in order," as Saint Basil reminds us, "by the Holy Spirit" (*On the Holy Spirit* 39). This ordering of charisms within the community is the basis of the Church's structure, and the reason why permanent offices of leadership have been divinely established within the Eucharistic body, since apostolic times, as a service of love and a safeguard of unity in faith and life. Thus

the same Spirit who unites the Church in a single universal Body also manifests his presence in the institutions which keep local communities in an ordered and loving communion with one another.

6. The two institutions, mutually dependent and mutually limiting, which have exercised the strongest influence on maintaining the ordered communion of the Churches since apostolic times, have been the gathering of bishops and other appointed local leaders in synods, and the primacy or recognized pre-eminence of one bishop among his episcopal colleagues.

a) Synods — whether held at the provincial, national or universal level, whether standing bodies (such as the *synods endemousa* of the Ecumenical Patriarchate), regularly convened gatherings, or extraordinary meetings called to meet some historic crisis — are the faithful community's chief expression of the "care for all the Churches" which is central to every bishop's pastoral responsibility, and of the mutual complementarity of all the Body's members.

b) Primacy — whether that of the metropolitan within his province, or that of a patriarch or presiding hierarch within a larger region — is a service of leadership that has taken many forms throughout Christian history, but that always should be seen as complementary to the function of synods. It is the primate (*protos*) who convenes the synod, presides over its activities, and seeks, together with his colleagues, to assure its continuity in faith and discipline with the apostolic Church; yet it is the synod which, together with the primate, gives voice and definition to the apostolic tradition. It is also the synod which, in most Churches, elects the primate, assists him in his leadership, and holds him to account for his ministry in the name of the whole Church (*Apostolic Canons* 34).

7. The particular form of primacy among the Churches exercised by the bishops of Rome has been and remains the chief point of dispute between the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches, and their chief obstacle to full ecclesial communion with each other. Disagreement has often centered on the way in which the leadership exercised by Peter in expressing and confirming the faith of the other disciplines (Mat 16.17f.; L 22.32; Jn 21.15-19) is to be realized in Church life. The Orthodox have emphasized that the role of Peter within the apostolic college is reflected principally in the role of the bishop within the local Church. Roman Catholics have claimed for the bishops of Rome, since the fourth century, not only the first place in honor among their episcopal colleagues but also the "Petrine"

role of proclaiming the Church's apostolic tradition and of ensuring the observation of canonical practices.

As our Consultation has suggested in its earlier statement, "Apostolicity as God's Gift in the Life of the Church" (1986; par. 12), "There is no intrinsic opposition between these two approaches." The Orthodox do accept the notion of universal primacy, speaking of it as a "primacy of honor" accorded to a *primus inter pares*; at the same time, they cannot accept an understanding of the role of the primate which excludes the collegiality and interdependence of the whole body of bishops, and in consequence continue to reject the formulation of Papal primacy found in Vatican's I's constitution *Pastor Aeternus*. Engaged since the Second Vatican Council in further development of the doctrine of Papal primacy within the context of a collegially responsible episcopate (see especially *Lumen Gentium* 22-23), the Roman Catholic Church is presently seeking new forms of synodal leadership which will be compatible with its tradition of effective universal unity in faith and practice, under the headship of the bishop of Rome.

8. The fullest synodal expression of the Church's universal reality is the gathering of bishops from various parts of the world in "ecumenical council," to deal with questions of urgent and universal importance by clarifying and defining the "ecumenical" faith and practice of the apostolic tradition (see the statement of the International Dialogue between the Roman Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church, "The Sacrament of Order in the Sacramental Structure of the Church" /New Valamo, 1988: 54). The Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches agree in recognizing the seven great councils of the early Church as ecumenical in character and import. Because the circumstances of their convocation, their preparation and membership, and the process of their subsequent recognition by the Churches vary, history offers us no single juridical model of conciliar structure as normative. Still, the acceptance of the binding authority of certain councils by the apostolic churches in worldwide communion — however and whenever that acceptance becomes clear — constitutes for the whole Body of Christ an event of charismatic unity at the highest level. It is in the reception of a common faith, especially as that faith is formulated by the ecumenical councils, that the Churches experience most authentically the unity in the Lord that is the foundation of Eucharist communion.

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“all” human beings, that is, the Gospel universalizes salvation and includes the Gentiles. Abraham is seen as the father of Jews, and Gentiles are included in the promise God made to him. Very definitely, Gaston emphasizes that the inclusion of Gentiles into God’s plan of salvation does not mean exclusion of Jews (p. 123).

Gaston goes to great pains to argue for the interpretation that Paul has been misinterpreted in the past as holding an anti-Jewish perspective. The author takes up numerous themes and systematically attempts to correct this violence done to the Apostle. Over and over again, Gaston insists that God’s faithfulness to his promise made to Abraham does not invalidate the Torah and Covenant of the Jews. In his enthusiasm to correct the anti-Jewish scholarship, Gaston goes overboard with the perception that there is a complete absence of negative statements.

The translations of Romans and Galatians presented here by the author is a challenging one. However, in his enthusiasm, Gaston, in order to support the thesis, that is, the absence of negative statements against the Jews, and to correct older anti-Jewish scholarship, suppresses the text itself to read his way.

Nonetheless, the present volume is a challenging one that must be considered by all Pauline scholars in writing on the topic. Gaston gives new insights into Paul’s view of the Torah and Christian-Jewish relations which cannot be ignored.

George C. Papademetriou
Hellenic College/Holy Cross

Broken, Yet Never Sundered: Orthodox Witness and the Ecumenical Movement. Gregory C. Wingenback. Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1987. Pp. 184. \$12.95, paper.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople has been in the forefront of the modern ecumenical movement. The Orthodox Church emerged in the twentieth century as a great force in a divided and suffering world. Especially here in America where a pluralistic society flourishes, Orthodoxy has received much respect as a church by the American public. Archbishop Iakovos, the Exarch of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in North and South America, has for some

thirty years led Orthodoxy with a very dynamic leadership among the American churches.

The present study is a most welcome addition to the greater understanding and prompting of the ecumenical movement. Fr. Gregory Wingenbach sets forth the goal of the book in the following words: "The purpose of this study is, first of all, to help those engaged in the vital ministry and, secondly, to increase self-understanding and a keener missionary sense among the Orthodox faithful" (p. 11). Indeed, this is a high expectation that Fr. Gregory has set forth for himself. However, I find that he has fulfilled his goal in writing this well-organized and well-documented book on Orthodoxy and the ecumenical movement.

Fr. Gregory begins his study from Scripture — Old and New Testaments — to illustrate that the ultimate destiny of humanity is to unite with God. He constantly uses the Scriptures and the Fathers to show that the unity of the Church and of humanity is an "imperative" given by God for all people.

In the Introduction, Fr. Wingenbach discusses the debates and issues that express the authentic ecumenical spirit of Orthodoxy and its mission in the world. He continues with subsequent chapters on "Torah and the Lord's Covenant," "Covenant and Pastoral Economy," "Exemplars of the Ecumenical Tradition," "Theological Perspectives for Orthodox Ecumenism," and "Orthodox Ecumenical Witness in the Twentieth Century." In the Epilogue he offers "Reflections and Taking Stock."

In this study the author emphasizes that Orthodox ecumenism is rooted in the Scriptures. This is especially evident in the second part of the book where he gives an excellent account of the Orthodox witness in the ecumenical movement in the twentieth century. Here he gives the reader to understand that, although the Orthodox Church was handicapped by a multitude of unfavorable conditions and was often oppressed by unfriendly governments in the Middle East and Eastern Europe, the Church has managed to work for Christian unity and to promote the ecumenical movement.

The author makes it that "... according to the Orthodox Church, where the wholeness of faith is absent, there can be no *communio in sacris*" (p. 137). He drives home the point that the entire Orthodox Christian family of local churches agree that union in the holy Eucharist presupposes oneness of faith and life. For Orthodox, "truth" does matter and the Orthodox insist on "the nature of the

Church's inner oneness" (p. 146). The following statement articulates the position of the Orthodox on the importance of "truth." He states, "We repudiate the theme that all religions are valid," and he gives the answer why, "because it flattens diversities and ignores contradictions. It not only obscures the meaning of the Christian faith, but also fails to respect the integrity of other faiths." (p. 146).

In the Epilogue the author recommends four steps for primary ecumenical relations of Orthodoxy and various Christian churches and a program for developing "grassroots" ecumenism among the communions involving both clergy and lay leadership that will bring people closer together in the spirit of understanding.

The book is well documented with primary and secondary sources and also includes a bibliography, a general index and a scriptural index that is very helpful to the reader.

The book should be in the hand of all those who are involved in the ecumenical movement and especially the Orthodox faithful who must read it in order to become better informed about the Church's involvement in its relations with other churches. In this way Orthodox Christians would be able to participate more intelligently in "grassroots" ecumenism.

George C. Papademetriou
Hellenic College/Holy Cross

Proclaiming God's Word Today: Preaching Concerns in the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America. By Stanley Samuel Harakas. Minneapolis: Light and Life, 1989. Pp 100. \$5.95, paper.

Each year Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School hosts "The St. John Chrysostom Lectures on Preaching." Thanks to Father Anthony Coniaris and the St. Mary's Parish in Minneapolis, Minnesota, this theological feast has been sponsored and offered to faculty, student body, and visitors for almost a decade now.

While previous lectures had included highly professional offerings, profound theological studies, and ecumenical endeavors, Father Harakas felt one approach had not yet been explored: "What would an empirical study of the status of preaching in our church yield?" he pondered. Specifically, would it be possible to study empirically the preachers of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese and what they think

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† Father George Christulides
(1957-1989)

FATHER GEORGE CHRISTULIDES WAS A VERY PROMISING YOUNG scholar and instructor of pastoral theology.

He was born in Chester, Pennsylvania in 1957 to pious parents who were devoted to Christ and his Church. Following high school, he entered Harvard University where he received his B. A. While at Harvard he attended the parish of Saint Nicholas in Lexington, Massachusetts, where I had the pleasure to have him as my co-worker in the educational programs of the community.

Following his graduation from Harvard, he entered Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology where he studied for the holy priesthood. Upon graduation from Holy Cross he matriculated at Princeton University where he embarked on a doctoral program in pastoral theology. He was ordained to the holy priesthood in 1986. While writing his doctoral dissertation, he became an instructor of pastoral theology in Hellenic College/Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology in 1986 and an assistant pastor at Saint Vasilios Greek Orthodox Church in Peabody, Massachusetts.

His untimely death in October 1989 left a great loss for the seminary community and that of Saint Vasilios. All who knew Father George were richer for the experience and greatly saddened by his death. May his memory be eternal.

George C. Papademetriou
Hellenic College/Holy Cross

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Cities and Villages of Lycia in the Life of Saint Nicholas of Holy Zion

CLIVE FOSS

SAINT NICHOLAS OF ZION, WHO PRESIDED OVER A FAMOUS MONASTERY in the mountains above Myra, the metropolis of Lycia, in the sixth century A.D., was renowned for the miraculous powers which he manifested throughout his native country. His career is well known from the life written by one of his followers, a contemporary source of great value for social and religious conditions and especially for local topography. The present study attempts to deal with this topography, by putting the life into its context by considering the cities and villages it mentions together with the surviving remains. By using established identifications and proposing new ones, it will often be possible to correlate texts and remains to produce a more detailed image of sixth-century Lycia than either taken separately would provide. This image will gain substance when viewed against the background of the physical environment. Even when toponyms or sites cannot be identified, their evidence can still be of considerable value, and unsolved problems will indicate the amount of work remaining to be done.¹

The Life

Saint Nicholas was born in the village (*khorion*) of Pharroa in the

¹ This work began in connection with research for maps of Asia Minor in the new *Atlas of Greek and Roman World* being undertaken by the American Philological Association.

district (*chora*) of Tragalassos, most probably in the early sixth century. He certainly died in 564, and his biographer makes no mention of advanced age.² Most of his activity, therefore, took place during the reign of Justinian; aspects of his career relevant to local geography will be considered in summary.

The saint was the nephew of a local holy man, also called Nicholas. The uncle, who had been born in the same village, went to live and study with a certain Sabbatios, abbot of the monastery of Akalissos. This Nicholas and his spiritual father both had visions which led Nicholas to found a church in his native village, a spot he especially loved. Sabbatios saw a burning light, a structure made entirely of stone, and the whole mountain shining like the sun, while the archangel Michael revealed a similar sight to Nicholas, adding the name of Holy Zion for the church, evidently because it would stand on a mountain, like its counterpart in Jerusalem.³

When the ground for this church was consecrated in Nicholas' native village, his nephew was born on an adjacent property. The infant demonstrated his precocious sanctity by standing erect for two hours in the basin where he was being washed, whereupon his impressed parents took him to the uncle in Akalissos.

Since even saints needed a basic education, Nicholas was entrusted to a teacher to learn his letters at the age of seven. He performed his first miracles at that time. By then, his uncle had successfully requested the archbishop of Myra, also called Nicholas, to consecrate the site of the church in Pharroa. The holy man Nicholas named it the Glorious and Holy Zion, and drew the outline of its apses on the ground.

The church and the child grew at the same time. When the young Nicholas was old enough, his uncle sent him to the archbishop, who

² For the life and detailed commentary, see G. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos* (Leipzig 1913-17), a fundamental work with a volume of texts and another of discussion (henceforth, "Anrich"). More accessible is the convenient recent edition, *The Life of St. Nicholas of Sion*, ed. I. and N. Ševčenko (Brookline, Mass. 1984), with an improved text, basic introduction and commentary. The life will be referred to here simply as *Vita*, with the appropriate chapters.

³ I shall consistently refer to this church as Holy Zion, with a Z-, which is the correct English form. Modern scholars tend to employ the form 'Sion' which, though good Greek or German, conceals the connections with the site at Jerusalem, universally known in English as Zion. For the monastery and its connection with Jerusalem, see Anrich 2.228-240.

graciously ordained him reader without taking a fee. On his return from the metropolis, he visited his uncle who urged him to become a monk and direct the shrine of Holy Zion. When that was complete, the uncle had Nicholas, now nineteen, consecrated priest and put him in charge of the church, which was a monastic foundation. He associated his brothers Artemas and Hermaios in its administration. The elder Nicholas became abbot of the monastery of Saint John in Akalissos, where he eventually died and was buried.⁴

So far, the account is roughly chronological; the rest, however, is less clearly organized, consisting almost entirely of anecdotes which demonstrate the sanctity of Nicholas, his travels and miracle-working.⁵ Since they seem to follow an approximate order, I shall present incidents of relevance to historical geography as they occur, limiting the discussion to items which offer concrete information to be correlated with the local topography.

On one occasion, the saint decided to visit the Holy Land. He went to the great church of Saint Nicholas in Myra, where he encountered a sea-captain from Ascalon, who willingly transported him. They boarded the ship at Andriake, the port of Myra, and reached Ascalon in five days. From there, the saint and his party visited the Holy Land, then returned to Tragalassos.⁶

One of the most remarkable incidents in the whole narrative concerns the sacred cypress tree of the village of Plakoma. It stood some 60 feet tall and was inhabited by a demon who caused considerable damage to the villagers and their fields. Since they were afraid to touch it they sent for the holy man, who succeeded in chopping it down himself. He then looked for workmen to cut up the wood, but the locals were deterred by its great size. Although Nicholas sought woodcutters 'in every city,' he could only recruit five men from the village of Karkabo, who successfully did the job. After that, the inhabitants of the surrounding districts of Arneai and Myra came to take away the wood.⁷ This incident has attracted attention not only

⁴The *Vita* has two separate accounts of the elder Nicholas and the founding of the church: 1-4 and 10-14; in this and other aspects, it appears to have been compiled rather carelessly, perhaps as a conflation of two or more narratives. For the early life of Saint Nicholas, see *Vita* 2-7.

⁵For the structure and date of the life, see Anrich 2.209-221.

⁶*Vita* 8-9; in section 9 the author appears to be speaking in his own person, evidence that he was a contemporary and follower of the saint.

⁷*Vita* 15-19.

because it indicates a survival of paganism (the sacred tree) but because it seems connected with a scene portrayed on third-century coins of Myra which show two men attempting to cut down a tree but being held back by serpents and an image of Eleuthera, the goddess of Myra, in its branches.⁸ I shall not return to this, but to the villages.

Saint Nicholas made a second journey to the Holy Land, this time from the port of Tristomon, where he found an Egyptian ship about to sail to Ascalon. After a successful short stay—four days in Egypt, where the ship called, and eight in Jerusalem—he returned to Ascalon, where he found a Rhodian ship planning to sail to Constantinople. By a miracle, the Saint enabled the crew to set sail and in ten days reached Lycia at the Chelidon Mountains, not far from Phoenix. The saint and his party wished to disembark there in order to proceed directly to his monastery, but the captain intended instead to take advantage of the wind and make straight for Rhodes, in spite of his agreement with Nicholas. When Nicholas expostulated, he announced that he could not stop in Andriake (Nicholas' second choice) or at Tristomon, but had to continue to Rhodes. By a miraculous change of wind, however, Nicholas was able to disembark at Andriake, and reach his monastery easily.⁹

While Nicholas was in the Holy Land his brother Artemas attempted to usurp some of his miraculous authority. Artemas had proposed that he should continue work on the church, but was forbidden by Nicholas who told him that the stones would obey only him, and dismissed the workmen. Artemas, however, summoned workmen from Arneai who began to quarry stone, but the block they cut could not be moved, not even when 75 villagers were put to the work. When Nicholas returned, he needed only twelve men to move it, showing the power which he had even over stones.¹⁰

One incident in the life provides a fixed chronological point. The bubonic plague struck the metropolis of Myra, where it raged severely. The farmers, from fear, refused to come into the city whose inhabitants

⁸ See the discussions of Anrich 2.224-6, and the remarks of Louis Robert in a study of fundamental importance for Lycian topography, "Villes et monnaies de Lycie," *Hellenica* 10.188-222, especially 197-222 (henceforth, "Robert").

⁹ *Vita* 27-38; Chelidon Mountains and ports: 37.

¹⁰ *Vita* 39. Strictly speaking, the narrative states that Artemas summoned the workmen to Arneae (*kalei tous technitas eis Arneai*), but it seems apparent that the work was going on at Holy Zion, so that the workers must have come from Arneae.

began to suffer severely from lack of grain, flour wine and wood. Some blamed their problems on Saint Nicholas, and complained to the archbishop, who in turn reported the rumor to the governor of the province (here called informally *archon*) and the leading citizens. As a result, two clerics of the metropolitan church were sent with orders to fetch Nicholas in chains, but the assembled villagers of Tragalassos requested him not to obey; the outcome is not reported.¹¹ This account refers, of course, to the great outbreak of the bubonic plague which ravaged the whole empire in the region of Justinian. It began in Egypt in 542, spread thence to Palestine and Syria, and reached Constantinople in the spring of 543. It would naturally have struck Myra, a place in frequent contact with the Near East, as it spread. Its appearance here provides a fixed point in the saint's life.

The following sections recount numerous travels of Saint Nicholas, often accompanied by sacrifices. Their placement in the life directly after the plague perhaps suggests that he was performing sacrifices of thanksgiving to celebrate the end of that disastrous visitation. In any case, the first journey, with sacrifices of oxen at Tragalassos and Akalissos, immediately follows the mention of the plague, while the second takes place two years later. This second journey began with Karkabo, then continued to Kausai and ten other places including Kastellon; it took 25 days.¹²

Subsequently, the church of Saint Daniel in Sabandos was about to fall into ruin. The saint turned of his route from Holy Zion to Myra, and stopped in Kastellon to pray at the church of Daniel. When he saw its condition, he summoned the deacon Nicholas from the village of Damasei and gave him and a master builder 80½ nomismata for its repair.¹³

At a later time, Nicholas was summoned by the archbishop to Myra, and was suddenly ordained bishop of Pinara in the west of Lycia far from his homeland. There, he distinguished himself by building a magnificent church to the Virgin.¹⁴ He seems not to have stayed long—though at least for three years—for the rest of the life narrates events which take place at Holy Zion and in its vicinity. The

¹¹ *Vita* 52-53.

¹² *Vita* 56-57.

¹³ *Vita* 58.

¹⁴ *Vita* 68-69.

promotion of a holy man like Nicholas evidently represents an effort of the church authorities to bring him under their control, perhaps because he was gaining too much influence in the region. The life of Saint Theodore of Sykeon in Galatia, who also lived in the sixth century, offers an exact parallel. He was forcibly ordained bishop, and only managed to resign with the greatest difficulty.¹⁵

On Wednesday, 10 December, 564, the saint died at his church, and was buried there, in the right part of the section reserved for women. His last rites were performed by the bishop of Phellos, who came up from Myra for the purpose.¹⁶

The life of Nicholas offers information of great interest on a variety of subjects—social and economic conditions, the organization and wealth of the church, relations between ecclesiastical and civic authorities, and between the city and its hinterland. The latter is perhaps the most promising subject for investigation, but for that a firm base in local topography would be desirable.¹⁷ The present study, therefore, will attempt to put the life in its physical, regional context by considering the places where it happened, beginning with Nicholas' monastery and the identifiable villages around it, then investigating the cities with which the saint was associated, and finally attempting to identify as many as possible of the villages which figure so prominently in the life. It will conclude with a list of local sites of the sixth century and of the unidentified toponyms, in the hope of correlating the two or at least finding approximate locations for the villages.

Holy Zion and Its Surroundings

The central place of the whole narrative, of course, is the church of Holy Zion. This has become even more renowned in recent decades by the discovery of a fabulous treasure of some sixty silver objects, many of which bear inscriptions associating them with the church. They include great plates with gilt decoration, chalices, lamps,

¹⁵See *Vie de Théodore de Sykeon*, ed. A. -J. Festugiere (= *Subsidia Hagiographica* 48, Bruxelles 1970) caps. 58-79. This life offers many instructive parallels with that of Saint Nicholas.

¹⁶*Vita* 79-80.

¹⁷I shall deal with that subject more comprehensively in "The Lycian Shore in the Byzantine Age" (forthcoming).

candelabra, censers, book-covers and the sheathing for an altar. Inscriptions identify donors, among whom the most generous was the bishop Eutychianos, evidently of Myra but otherwise unknown. Stamps on many of the objects date them to the mid-sixth century.¹⁸

Holy Zion has been identified with the church of Karabel discovered in 1960 by Professor Martin Harrison.¹⁹ This consists of a squarish three-aisled basilica with a large triconch apse to which is attached a rectangular apsed baptistery. On the south, adjacent to the apse, is a domed chapel with an altar and three sarcophagi. It was added to the church, but appears to be almost contemporary with it. Beside it on the west is another chapel, square and vaulted.²⁰ The whole structure is elegantly built of large finely-cut blocks of limestone, and bears elaborate sculptural decoration on its lintels and cornices. The interior apparently bore mosaics. In the chapel, below the dome, is a series of eight enigmatic consoles.

The evidence for the identification is extremely convincing: the church is in the appropriate location above Myra, on a hill adjacent to an ancient road which leads from the coast to the interior; it has three apses; it is constructed of extremely large blocks; and it has a chapel on the south (right) side appropriate for relics. The chapel is a contemporary addition, suitable to the account of Saint Nicholas containing work on the church, while the second chapel may possibly be regarded as his tomb.²¹ In addition, it is built of a white limestone which would justify the brightness of Nicholas' vision, and the consoles in the chapel would be eminently suitable for hanging the silver candelabra of the treasure.

The identification of Holy Zion with the basilica of Karabel may therefore be considered as established, and the toponym Pharroa entered on the map at this point. Pharroa was a village in the district of Tragalassos. This, too, may be identified with some degree of

¹⁸One class of these objects has been carefully analysed by Susan Boyd: "A Bishop's Gift: Openwork Lamps from the Sion Treasure" in *Argenterie romaine et byzantine*, ed. F. Baratte (Paris 1988) 191-202.

¹⁹According to P. Grossman and H. G. Severin, "Forschungen in Südöstlichen Lykien," *TAD* 25-2 (1981) 101-110, at 103 n.9, the church should more specifically be referred to as Asarcık, reserving the name Karabel for the village, two kilometres to the south, which was also a late antique site: see below.

²⁰See M. Harrison, "Churches and Chapels of Central Lycia," *Anatolian Studies* 13 (1963) 117-51 (henceforth "Harrison, Churches"), especially 131-5 and 146f.

²¹*Ibid.*, 150 n.165.

probability. The village of Karabel, two kilometres south of the church, on the road which leads to Myra, also contains remains of the period, consisting of a single-apsed basilica with two circular structures which may have been towers, as well as remains of a substantial stone-built settlement.²² This would appear to be the village Tragalassos of which Pharroa with its great monastery was an outlying dependency.

Professor Harrison's explorations also have revealed a substantial settlement at Alakilise, four kilometers or an hour east of Holy Zion, over a mountain track which leads to a high, virtually isolated valley surrounded by steep cliffs. The slopes bear oaks, pines and sandalwood, while a forest of cedars of Lebanon crown the summit. This site, whose remains are far more complete than those of Pharroa or Tragalassos, enables an entire village of the time of Saint Nicholas to be envisaged. It may also be identified with one of the places mentioned in his life.

Alakilise, like Karabel, contains an extremely impressive church, a long three-aisled basilica with an atrium and domed chapel with four chambers adjoining the apse. It has elaborate carved decoration around the doorway, but is built mostly of roughly cut stones, mortared together. An inscription, which records a ninth-century resotation, reveals that it was dedicated to the Archangel Gabriel. Beside the church, there were three small chapels, one of them carved into the cliff, within a radius of two kilometers.²³

The surrounding settlement contains some thirty houses on ter-

²²For the church, see Harrison 1963.131 and Grossman & Severin 106. The settlement is mentioned in M. Harrison, "Aspects of Roman and early Byzantine Lycia," 8. *Türk Tarih Kongresi* (Ankara 1979) 1.525-32 (henceforth, Harrison, "Aspects") at 528, though, strictly speaking, it is not clear whether the reference is to the village Karabel or to the site of the monastery. The material will be discussed in more detail in a forthcoming work on Lycia by Prof. Harrison. Another settlement was discovered by Prof. Harrison at the acropolis of Karabel, immediately east of the monastery: it had 'Early Byzantine' walls and contained a substantial basilical church. I suppose from its proximity to Holy Zion that this was the center of Pharroa, but identification with Tragalassos itself cannot be entirely precluded.

²³Plan and description in Harrison, "Churches," pp. 125-29; cf. H. Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler* (Leipzig 1908; henceforth "Rott") 316-24, with a superb photograph of the church in its setting. Rott included the inscription (of the year 812) on p. 320. It had first been published, with a facsimile, by the discoverers of the church, E. Petersen and F. von Luschan, in *Reisen in Lykien, Milyas und Kibyratis* (Vienna 1889; henceforth *Reisen* II) 39 no. 17, and is reproduced in H. Grégoire, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes de l'Asie Mineure* (Paris 1922), no. 286.

paces and on the floor of the valley. Most are built of solid mortared rubble and have two storeys—the upper, with large windows, reserved for residence, while the animals occupied the ground level. They apparently belong to one period, the sixth century. Since there is no permanent source of water in the valley, each house had its own cistern. The village could have had a population of several hundred, perhaps even a thousand.²⁴ At present, the population is extremely small, but the sixth century was evidently a more flourishing time. Terracing on the slopes and numerous grape presses adjacent to each house reveal a more extensive agriculture, in which the production of wine was the major element. The place evidently survived and flourished by exporting its agricultural produce to the city, gaining sufficient wealth to construct the substantial church.

This village can be brought into even closer contact with the life of Saint Nicholas by identifying it with one of the places he actually visited. The narrative mentions a village called Karkabo on two occasions. It was here that the saint, after some searching, found woodcutters to saw the great sacred tree of Plakoma (sec. 19). Karkabo appears again in the account of Nicholas' long 25-day journey two years after the plague. On the first day, he went as far as the shrine of the holy Archangel Gabriel in Karkabo, where he sacrificed three oxen before continuing his travels (sec. 56).

A church dedicated to the Archangel Gabriel is highly unusual; this is the only time one occurs in the life, and no other is mentioned in Lycia at any time. This alone suggests the identification with Alakilise whose church bore the name of Gabriel. Confirmation comes from the location—the place could be reached in less than a day from Holy Zion—and from the presence of sawyers. Since the site of Alakilise is surrounded by forests, and since the means of livelihood for a large village would have been extremely limited, it is reasonable to suppose that many of them would have been woodcutters, producing another item of value to be sold to the metropolis. As noted above on the occasion of the plague, Myra depended on the hinterland for wood, along with wine (also produced at Alakilise), wheat, and flour.

²⁴The village site has been surveyed and studied by Martin Harrison: see his "Nouvelles découvertes romaines tardives et paléobyzantines en Lycie," *CRAI* 1979. 222-39, at 228ff (henceforth Harrison "Nouvelles découvertes"); cf. Harrison, "Aspects" and M. Harrison, "Upland Settlements in Early Medieval Lycia," *Actes du colloque sur la Lycie antique* (Paria 1980) 109-18 at 116ff.

In fact, Alakilise was in a better location for communication than would appear, since two roads, cut in the rocks, led down to Myra, passing on either side of the Turant Dağ below the village.²⁵ Alakilise, then, may be taken as the ancient Karkabo, and another element of reality introduced into the history.

A village called Kastellon appears twice in the narrative, once during the long journey of the Saint (sec. 57), and again when its church of the prophet Daniel was about to collapse (sec. 58). On that occasion, Nicholas was travelling from Holy Zion to Myra, when he turned off to Kastellon to pray. Kastellon, in other words, lay near the road between Pharroa and the metropolis.

Professor Harrison also discovered traces of ancient roads in the mountains above Myra. One of them, cut in the rocks and about 2m wide, led from Gödeme, some 5k NW of Myra, to Muskar, Karabel and Çağman. A branch from Muskar led to Alakilise (Karkabo).²⁶ In other words, Muskar was on the route between Myra and Holy Zion. This place also contains impressive remains, consisting of the apse in fine ashlar of what had apparently once been a large cruciform basilica; other traces reveal the high standard of architectural carving found in the region. There was also a small chapel about half a kilometer to the south.²⁷

These remains again indicate a substantial settlement in an appropriate place, but do not explain the name Kastellon. This, however, may be connected with the nearby ruins of a fortress, about a kilometer south of Muskar. It is described as of 'Byzantine' masonry with tile bands, and so probably later than the sixth century. Buildings of that period in these mountains are usually of ashlar or martared rubble; brick bands appear only in the great ninth century church of Dere Ağzı, in the large valley of Kasaba about 15k west of Holy Zion.²⁸ The masonry of the fortress stood on foundations of classical ashlar, and below the fort were 'remains of massive masonry, including Doric column-drums'; fragments of Byzantine carving suggested that there

²⁵For the roads, see Harrison, "Churches," 131 n.96.

²⁶See previous note.

²⁷Harrison, "Churches," 131, "Aspects" 528; the remains of the church were apparently in better condition when visited by Rott; see his description 315f., with good photograph of the apse.

²⁸See J. Morganstern, *The Byzantine Church at Dere Ağzı and its Decoration* (Tübingen 1983).

may also have been a church of chapel here.²⁹

All this indicates a possible solution. The fort was perhaps ruined in the sixth century, but the site could have preserved the name 'Fortress.' Kastellon in any case was not directly on the road, at Muskar, for the saint turned off there to worship. This would be appropriate for the site of the fort.

Muskar may have formed part of the agglomeration of Kastellon, which is only a kilometer away, but another possibility is also at hand. The life refers to the church of Daniel specifically as located in the village of Kastellon, but introduces it as the church of Daniel in Sabandos. This place appears also in section 41, when an infertile couple from the village Damasei in the district (*enoria*) of Sabandos, came to the saint for relief. Sabandos was thus the local headquarters, to which Damasei and Kastellon were subordinate. It seems plausible to seek this at Muskar, which was evidently a substantial place, on the road to Myra, in a good location for administration.

The Cities

The life is rich in names of villages, but preserves the memory of suprisingly few of the attested cities and towns of central Lycia, even though the region was characterized by numerous small cities which continued to exist as bishoprics through the Middle Ages. Myra, of course, was the greatest, the metropolis of the whole country; it figures prominently, together with its port. Otherwise, among known Lycian cities, the life mentions only Arneai, Akalissos, and Pinara in any significant context, while Oenoanda and Akarassos in the northern interior district of Cabalis, and Zenopolis whose location is unknown, are mentioned in passing.³⁰ The setting and remains of these cities are of great value in reconstructing and understanding the context of the life.

The most important by far was Myra which, together with Xanthos (in western Lycia, outside the area of Saint Nicholas' activities), was always one of the great cities of the region. It was made metropolis

²⁹Harrison, "Churches," 131 n.95.

³⁰I am omitting discussion of Phellos, since it plays no real role in the context of the life. It was the bishop of Phellos who buried Saint Nicholas (sec. 79). He came up from Myra, and may actually have been resident in the metropolis, a common case with Byzantine bishops.

of Lycia by Theodosios II (408-50), and controlled a large territory which stretched far into the interior. This included Tragalassos (the life makes it abundantly clear that Holy Zion was subject to the archbishop), the sites already met at Muskar and Gødeme, and Dere Ağzı at the head of the gorge of the Myros, some twenty kilometers to the northwest, as well as a stretch of seacoast about twenty kilometers long.³¹ It is probable, in fact, that most of the mountain district where the career of Nicholas took place was included in the territory of Myra.

Myra occupies a rich alluvial plain surrounded by mountains, one of which bears its acropolis. Because of the continuing deposit of silt in the plain, most of the remains are deeply buried, with only the large theatre and spectacular rock-cut tombs surviving from antiquity; other public buildings have disappeared. One sixth-century building does survive, however, in the great church of the first Saint Nicholas, patron of Myra and of sailors, merchants, thieves, and children, the original Santa Claus. He is said to have lived in the time of Constantine, and was so famed for his miracles that a church was soon built over his grave. In its earliest surviving form, a basilica with piers separating off the aisles, it is apparently a work of Justinian, who had the city rebuilt in 529 after an earthquake.³²

This church was visited by our Nicholas, on the occasion of his first trip to the Holy Land. The life records (sec. 8) that he went down to the metropolis, and from there to the martyrion of the holy and glorious Nicholas, where he met the ship captain from Ascalon. The church is mentioned as distinct from Myra because it lay a mile outside the city. The two were connected by a long portico, beside which lay houses for the poor built by a general of Constantine whom the original Saint Nicholas had saved from execution.

This detail comes from the biography of the fourth-century saint which, together with accounts of his miracles, reveals details of the appearance of the city by mentioning many of its buildings and public places.³³ It attests the existence of palaces of the governor and of

³¹For the territory of Myra, see the comprehensive discussion of W. Ruge in *RE*, and for its extent to Dere Ağzı, G. Bean in Morganstern (above, n.28) 201.

³²General description: G. Bean, *Lycian Turkey* (London 1978; henceforth, "Bean") 120-30. Myra as capital: Malalas 365; earthquake: Malalas 448.

³³They are mentioned in the *Praxis de stratelatis*, cap.6 (Anrich 1.69); see the discussion of Anrich 2.529f.

the archbishop, who figures so prominently in the life of the sixth-century Nicholas. His cathedral, dedicated to Saint Irene, was in the city. There was also a church to the local martyrs Crescens and Dioscurides, a square named after the Dioscouri, and a place (or district) called Leo. Existence of a city gate implies that the city was walled. Berras, where criminals were executed, lay immediately outside it, probably adjacent to the necropolis which would have stretched the whole length of the road to Saint Nicholas' church. A brothel, from which the earlier Saint Nicholas saved the daughters of an impoverished farmer, may have stood in the city or, perhaps more likely in its port, Andriake.³⁴

The port, too, was an extremely busy place, whose surviving remains reflect the intense commercial activity of the district.³⁵ Most imposing among them is the enormous granary, 65 meters long and 32 deep, built by Hadrian, and still in use in the fourth century, if not later. It was built to store the grain which came in from the many small plains and valleys of the hills behind the city, regions whose farmers are specifically attested as bringing down grain among other products (sec. 52). Adjacent to the granary is the main market place, a large colonnaded and paved square, which bore the name Plakoma, evidently because of the paving.³⁶ The grain itself was ground into flour by a large water mill on the harbor which apparently is of late antique date. Myra was evidently so large that it needed the products of the interior as well as those of its own small plain. Its major role, however, was probably that of a center for transshipment of produce, taken to the teeming population of the capital, usually by ships on their way from Egypt.

Commerce is also represented by the row of large warehouses, 20-30 meters long, which line the shore of the harbor. A broad street,

³⁴*Vita Nic. Myr.* cap. 10-18 (Anrich 1.118-23).

³⁵For Andriake, see *Myra. eine lykische Metropole*, ed. J. Borchhardt (Berlin 1975; henceforth "*Myra*"). 64-75, 401-11. This massive but very uneven work, like many discussions of cities of this period, focuses on the churches and neglects the private buildings. I have supplemented these remarks by the results of personal inspection. For the churches, Grossman and Severin 101ff. give added details. For the granary, see G. Rickman, *Roman Granaries and Store Buildings* (Cambridge 1971) 139f.

³⁶See the texts and discussions in Anrich 2.530f. Although the word appears to be unattested, its meaning is clear and it is correctly formed from *plakoo*, 'pave.' Anrich's attempts to identify this place with the village of the same name are unsuccessful; for that, see below, 334f. The marketplace is described in *Myra* 65f.

seven meters wide and partly covered, separated the port installations from the main residential district. This consists of densely packed small houses, connected by narrow alleys and rising up the hill past the granary and above the harbor. Among the houses are five churches, all three-aisled basilicas. Most have attached or adjacent small chapels, sometimes in the form of a triconch, and cisterns nearby. The largest is quite substantial, 28 meters long and 18 wide; the others are not much smaller. Stylistic analysis suggests that they belong to the fifth and sixth centuries and thus represent the life of the port in the time of Nicholas.

Myra and its port give a clear impression of urban life and show how the metropolis played such a major role in the whole country and consequently in the life of Saint Nicholas. The other cities, though far less impressive, still reveal much about the regional context.

Myra was thus a flourishing city in the sixth century with a substantial population most easily visualized in the crowded harbor district. It had the normal complement of Roman public buildings, and maintained the active life of a classical metropolis. Remains of the harbor show that trade, especially in grain, played a major role in the economy of the city, which provided a market for the products of the interior of a center for transshipment of goods to other regions. The palaces of governor and archbishop reflect new activities, for Myra in Saint Nicholas' time was an administrative center, the headquarters of a small but complex province. Consequently, officials and bureaucrats would have headquarters there which attracted people from the entire region on ecclesiastical or official business. Visitors would also have come to worship at the shrine of the earlier Saint Nicholas outside the walls. Pilgrimage and festivals thus would also have been factors in the local economy. Finally, as the life so clearly shows, it was the major link in communications between inland Lycia and the outside world.

Arneai was the neighboring city of Myra: when the great tree of Plakoma was cut down, the wood was carried off by the villagers of the surrounding region (*perichoros*) of the district (*enoria*) of Myra and Arneai (sec. 19). It was to Arneai that the Saint's disobedient brother sent for stonecutters (sec. 39), and from there that a villager came to seek remedy for his unproductive fields (sec. 59). The city was plainly in close contact with Holy Zion.

Arneai occupies a remote and isolated hilltop site high in the mountains. It is 35 kilometers from Myra by the most direct route,

the track which leads past Holy Zion, itself roughly halfway between the two cities. It can also be approached from the coastal port of Antiphellos (Kas) via the interior valley of Kasaba and Dere Ağzı. From there, a climb of four hours on horseback was necessary to reach the city.

Charles Texier, who made the trip in April 1836, describes the difficulty caused especially by rainstorms, and remarks that the traveller in the region has the alternatives of incessant rain or the unbearable heat of summer when water is extremely scarce. Rott encountered even worse storms between Dere Ağzı and Myra in December 1906.³⁷ Such accounts reveal a reality rarely reflected in the life: the harsh natural environment, often with too much rain or too little, all falling on a limestone massif which rarely retains it, but obliges the inhabitants to build cisterns wherever possible. In fact, one miracle of Nicholas (secs. 20-24) reflects the shortage of water: the inhabitants of the village of Arnabanda are desperate because their one spring was fouled; the Saint found water in the nearby mountain, where the locals had heard from their fathers that water was present.³⁸

These narratives also often stress another feature which renders travel difficult, the lack of good roads through the extremely rough country. Long and miserable climbs through this very region, with the men dismounting to lead their horses, and trying to find poor tracks which often disappear on the barren mountain slopes, are frequently mentioned.³⁹ The only good natural route in the vicinity follows the valley of the Myros. This rises gradually from the cultivated coastal plain of Myra through pine woods, before entering a long and deep gorge with high wooded cliffs on both sides that eventually leads to the isolated interior basin of Kasaba. This route was relatively easy in the summer, but in the rainy season the river rapidly rises and has to be forded incessantly. In the winter, it was impassible, and traffic between the coast and interior had to follow more difficult paths along the ridges.⁴⁰

³⁷Chas. Texier, *Asie Mineure* (Paris 1862) 687f; Rott 315f; cf. Robert 216 n.6, with long and vivid extracts from the travellers.

³⁸See the pertinent comments of Robert 204 n.2 on this passage, with a long quotation from Otto Benndorf about the lack of water in the Myra plateau.

³⁹See, for example, *Reisen* II.40f., describing travel between Alakilise, Muskar, and Gödeme.

⁴⁰Compare the similar descriptions and comments of O. Benndorf and G. Niemann

To some extent, life would have been easier in the time of Saint Nicholas, since a network of roads connected the region. Traces of them, often two meters wide, cut into the steep cliff sides and with parapets at the edges have been followed from Gödeme on the lower slopes of the mountain, past Muskar (Sabandos?) and Holy Zion to Çağman and thus probably to Arneai. A branch led from Gödeme to Alakilise (Karkabo), which was also connected to the coastal region by a parallel road farther to the east.⁴¹ These were doubtless built to connect the villages with the metropolis and to facilitate transport of goods between them. That was surely the function of the more substantial Roman road which led from Myra the whole length of the Myros valley and gorge to Dere Ağzı and thence to the basins of the interior. It appears to have been built to move grain down to the coast, to the market and granary of Myra.⁴²

The road between Myra and Arneai, though it ran more than twenty kilometers through the mountains, connected two cities which were neighbors, for their territories were contiguous. That of Myra, as noted, reached far into the mountains. The territory of Arneai was also substantial, stretching down as far as the village of Çağman, which stood on the road to Myra, five kilometers north of Holy Zion.⁴³ Nicholas' church was therefore near the boundary between the two districts.

In spite of its remoteness, Arneai was a real city. In the Roman period, well attested by inscriptions, it had the usual civic institutions and a gymnasium and struck its own coins. Like several Lycian cities, it was center of a local federation or sympolity in which small places merged into a common political organization, with one of them as the dominant partner. By the sixth century it was the seat of a bishop who probably presided in the larger of the two substantial basilicas on the site. The town was surrounded by Hellenistic walls, rebuilt in the Byzantine period (at a date not yet determined).

Inscriptions show that Arneai maintained active relations with Myra in the Roman period. In Late Antiquity, the contacts were more

in *Reisen in Lykien und Karien* (Vienna 1884) 131; T. A. B. Spratt and E. Forbes, *Travels in Lycia* (London 1847) 122f.; and Rott 315f., who was caught in a storm.

⁴¹Harrison, "Churches," 131 n.96.

⁴²See the report of D. French in J. Morganstern, *The Ancient-Byzantine Fort at Dereagzı and its Environs* (forthcoming).

⁴³G. Bean, "Report on a Journey in Lycia in 1960," *Anzeiger Wien* 1962. 4-9.

systematic. An inscription of the granary at Andriake records a decree of the praetorian prefect Eutolmius Tatianus (388-392) issuing standard weights, and measures for liquids and solids, for common use in Arneai and Myra. This indicates close commercial relations between the two cities and implies a considerable flow of agricultural produce down from the interior plains and valleys to the coast. Arneai was, in other words, a much more substantial place than most of those mentioned in the life, and its presence in the mountains to the north would indicate that a good deal of traffic passed Holy Zion, which stood next to the road between Arneai and Myra.⁴⁴

Akalissos is the first city to appear in the life. It was the home of the monk Sabbatios, teacher of the elder Nicholas, uncle of the Saint (sec. 1). It contained the monastery of Saint John, where Nicholas took up residence, and eventually died and was buried (secs. 2, 13). The young Nicholas was taken there as an infant, and subsequently visited his uncle at the monastery, and celebrated a sacrifice of oxen there after the plague (secs. 2, 6, 54).

Like Arneai, Akalissos was a real city, but extremely remote. It lies in the mountains in the eastern part of Lycia, some twenty kilometers north of the large ancient city of Limyra, from which it may be reached by what is by all accounts a long and difficult ride. The city is far from Holy Zion: although only about 35 kilometers apart as the crow flies, the places are separated by two high mountains and the gorges of two rivers. The remote site would have been suitable for a monk, but supported nevertheless a small city, the head of a local federation with two of its neighbors in the Roman period. It became and remained a bishopric, but has virtually no history. The site, now almost denuded, contained the remains of two early churches, one of them perhaps the monastery of Sabbatios and Nicholas.⁴⁵

Akalissos raises a geographical problem, and with it the limits to which investigation of the life may be pursued on internal evidence

⁴⁴General description: Bean 134f; inscriptions and site plan: *Tituli Asiae Minoris* 2.3 (ed. E. Kalinka, Vienna 1944) 279-87; inscription of Tatianus: *Reisen* 2.42 no. 77a, with added comments of H. Grégoire (above, n.23) 290; coins and references: H. von Aulock, *Die Münzprägung des Gordian III und der Tranquillina in Lykien* (Tübingen 1974) 38f, 57f.

⁴⁵General description: Bean 139f.; inscriptions: *TAM* 2.3.318-22; coins and references: von Aulock (previous note) 35f., 55f.

alone. On two occasions when the site is mentioned in a geographical context, it appears to be quite close to Holy Zion. Once, Nicholas went there from Myra, as if it were on his way to Holy Zion (but his ultimate goal is not stated; sec. 6), and, on his first journey after the plague, he travelled first to Tragalassos, then to the monastery of Saint John in Akalissos (sec. 54). It is of course theoretically possible that there should be two places of the same name in Lycia, but such an assumption, which finds no local parallels, would be gratuitous. Rather, it is necessary to recognize that the account can sometimes be quite vague about geography. Identifications therefore should only be attempted when the information given is relatively specific.

Pinara, though more important than these two mountain cities, is rather incidental to the main events of the life. It was in this city that Nicholas was ordained bishop, and here he built a splendid church to the Mother of God. No other activities are recorded in the city or its vicinity, for the saint seems to have returned to his native district and the monastic life as soon as possible. Pinara was a large city of considerable antiquity in western Lycia, in the hills above the valley of the Xanthos river about fifteen kilometers northwest of Xanthos. It stood in the interior, but had a territory which stretched down to the western coast, to include the small port of Perdikiai.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, it was far from Holy Zion, with no natural connection to the region of Myra; its distance from the homeland where the saint had great influence may have been a factor in the decision of the archbishop to appoint him there.

Pinara is well known from ancient texts and its extensive remains. They indicate a typical development: founded on a remarkable steep round hilltop in the Lycian period, it descended into the neighboring plain in classical times, and flourished under the Romans, when it acquired a theatre, odeum, market-place, temple, and other civic buildings, erected on an axial plan in a greatly expanded site. Late Antiquity, however, seems to have brought a definite decline; the city shrank, and only one building of the period has been identified. This is a small church with a single nave and an apse, built into the Roman marketplace. It seems an insignificant seat for a bishop, especially when compared with the magnificence of Holy Zion. Since no other

⁴⁶For the port and its relation with Pinara, see L. Robert, *Documents de l'Asie Mineure méridionale* (Paris 1966) 9-25.

church has been discovered in the city, though, it appears that this was indeed the cathedral. No explanation is apparent for the decline of Pinara, unless the population had been attracted by the wealth of the coastal areas, and had moved out of the relatively cramped site in the hills to settle in nearby Xanthos or somewhere else; but some local catastrophe is also possible.⁴⁷

In any case, by appointing Nicholas to a place in decline, the archbishop could have had cynical or admirable motives: Nicholas could have been relegated to a place of no importance where he could do no harm, or have been made bishop of a see which badly needed the services of a famed and energetic holy man. Considering that the saint managed to raise 400 nomismata—a considerable sum—to build his new church to the Virgin (it has not been discovered), the latter seems more likely.

Oenoanda appears only casually, when a man possessed by an evil spirit was brought from the village of Oualo in the district (*enoria*) of 'Eneanda' (sec. 61). The identification with Oenoanda (the village itself is unknown), whose pronunciation would have been virtually identical with the form in the text, has long been accepted. The place is well known: it was a substantial city, the largest after Myra of any considered here, and lay in a completely different district. Oenoanda was one of the major centers of the Kabalis, an interior district north of the plains and mountains of western Lycia. The site contains a theatre, market place, temple, and various civic buildings and is surrounded by fortification walls. It is best known for the long, wordy inscription of a native son, the Epicurean philosopher Diogenes.⁴⁸

Oenoanda is most interesting in this context as an example of the fame of such a local miracle-worker as Nicholas. His reputation spread far beyond the confines of his native district; he actually appears to have been well known in the interior. On another occasion,

⁴⁷See the detailed study of W. Wurster and M. Wörrle, "Die Standt Pinara," *AA* 1978. 74-101; the 'Byzantine' city is discussed on p. 97 where unfortunately no distinction is made between Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Much of the decline, therefore, is probably attributable to a period later than the sixth century. The absence of identifiable Christian and late antique buildings, however, suggests a remarkable lack of activity at Pinara, especially when compared with the neighboring Xanthos or with Myra, both of which were actively flourishing at the time.

⁴⁸See the clear account of Bean 170-74.

when Nicholas was visiting a village of his district, one of the locals told him that he had learned of the saint's powers from a fellow villager he had happened to meet at Akarassos in Kabaleia (sec. 22). The site of Akarassos has not been discovered, nor does it appear in texts of the classical period. It is, however, attested as a city by the fifth century, and remained a bishopric throughout the Middle Ages.⁴⁹ Its significance here is as further evidence of Nicholas' fame in the interior, for it is safe to presume that the villager had spread the word about the saint in Kabaleia, which is equivalent to Kabalis, the district around Oenoanda. These casual mentions also suggest a fair degree of contact between the interior plateaus and the coast, similar to that already noted in the case of Arneai.

Otherwise, Nicholas' reputation had spread along the sea routes, at least to Egypt. For when he made his second visit to the Holy Land, he was taken by the sailors to a village of the Delta, called Diolko, where he was rapidly accepted as a holy man and miracle worker because a sailor from there, a companion of the crew, had been resurrected through the saint's prayers (sec. 32). On the other hand, there is no mention of Nicholas encountering anyone who recognized him in the Holy Land itself, nor do any of the metropolitan centers of the eastern Empire appear, even casually, in the life. In his own time, no pilgrims, court officials, or rich ladies came to him from the capital or such places as Ephesos or Attalea. For the most part, he was a purely local figure, whose reputation owed something to the position of the Lycian coast on the major sea routes to the east.

Only one other city appears, Zenopolis, the home of a childless couple who came to the saint for relief (sec. 49). The place is otherwise unattested in the period, but it does occur as a bishopric, under a more correct name Zenonopolis, beginning in the eighth century.⁵⁰ Its site has not been discovered, nor does the life provide any information about it. It may simply be taken as attestation of activity in the time of the emperor Zeno (474-91) in the general region.

The Coast

Among the towns which have been identified, the local ports play

⁴⁹For sources about Akarassos, see Robert, p. 208.

⁵⁰See the lists of bishops of the Eastern Church in J. Darrouzes, *Notitiae episcopatum ecclesiae constantinopolitanae* (Paris 1981), index, s. v. Zénonopolis. A bishop first appears at the Second Council of Nicaea in 787.

an important role. When Nicholas returned from his second voyage to the Holy Land (sec. 37), he wanted to disembark at Phoenix, but the skipper proposed instead to sail straight for Rhodes. He refused to stop at Phoenix, or at Andriake, or even at Tristomon. With these, the captain named the three main ports of the district.

Phoenix is the first port which a ship coming from the east would reach after passing the Chelidonian mountains and promontory; consequently the mountains are mentioned as being near it. In fact, they are separated by about 30 k of coast, but most of that is a low-lying sandy beach with no landing place except the small landlocked anchorage of Melanippe on the promontory. Phoenix offers many natural advantages. As Francis Beaufort, captain of His Majesty's ship *Fredericksteen*, who first explored and surveyed this coast in 1811, reported: "The facility with which both these necessary operations [wooding and watering] can be effected, renders the bay a very convenient anchorage. Ships lie at no great distance from two rivers of excellent water; small trees, fit for firewood, grow on their banks; and the bar at the entrance of the eastern river [the *Arykandos*] is deep enough to allow the passage of loaded boats." Spratt and Forbes, who stopped here in 1842, reported that the river was navigable for a mile and that it was the principal port for Elmali, the main town of the interior basins. Cargoes of corn and wood were embarked here, and it had formerly been much frequented by the Sultan's ships sailing between Constantinople and Alexandria, a situation reminiscent of Saint Nicholas' time.⁵¹

Communication between Egypt and this port is attested close to Nicholas' time in a context which also reflects the modern importance of the site. In 715, an Arab flotilla from Alexandria put into the harbor to cut cypress wood, a natural activity but unwelcome to the emperor, who ordered the Byzantine fleet to assemble at Rhodes and destroy the invaders. Unfortunately for him, the fleet instead revolted and destroyed him; the Arabs presumably got their cargo.⁵² Such activity suggests the presence of a route into the interior, where the forest grew. It seems that Phoenix served as an outlet for the interior basins already in antiquity, for a milestone found about ten kilometers up the *Arykandos* river indicates the presence of a Roman

⁵¹F. Beaufort, *Karamania* (London 1817) 31f; Spratt and Forbes (above, n.40) 145.

⁵²Theophanes 385.

road linking coast and interior in the early third century.⁵³ By following this road, then diverging westward across the mountains, Nicholas could have returned from the port to his monastery. Phoenix, itself, however, has preserved virtually no trace of this period; only a Hellenistic fortress, later repaired by the Byzantines, indicates that the port was defended.⁵⁴

The last port, Tristomon (from which Nicholas set out on his first journey to the Holy Land), preserved its name into modern times. In antiquity it was the village of Teimiousa; it is now called Üçağız, a Turkish translation of Tristomon. It lies rather more than ten kilometers west of Andriake at the head of a large and well-protected harbor, about three kilometers long and half a kilometer wide. It is sheltered by a peninsula which leaves a fairly wide entrance to the bay, and by a long offshore island, the ancient Dolichiste, now called Kekova. Tristomon forms part of a large complex of harbors, including the ancient Simena and the island itself. Together, they offer great natural advantages as noted by Beaufort: "Future events may possibly recall this place to its former population and importance. Its numerous creeks and easy access will always render it a favorite resort of the small and timid coasters of the Levant; while its great extent, its bold shores, and the facility of defence, may hereafter point it out as an eligible place for the rendezvous of a fleet . . . both these ports [Kekova and Kastellorizo, on a large island further west] may be considered more valuable, as hence to Syria there is but one land-locked harbor." On the other hand, Beaufort also noted a serious deficiency, in the lack of fresh water in the summer; all that could be found was in the reservoirs of ruined houses, nor was it easy to obtain supplies.

In Nicholas' time, the natural advantages of this complex of harbors outweighed the deficiencies. Tristomon, Simena and especially the entire island of Kekova, which is about 8 km long, as well as the neighboring islets, were the scene of intense habitation and activity. Little remains of Tristomon itself, where the late antique remains blend into the village houses; most substantial is a gateway with a cross on the lintel. Other structures, which include a necropolis church lay outside the village while another chapel, attached to an enigmatic

⁵³See *Reisen* 2.74f.

⁵⁴Reported and illustrated by B. Pace, "Ricerche nella regione di Conia, Adalia e Scalanova," *Annuario* 6-7 (1923-24) 343-452 at 429ff.

domed building, lay to the north. As Beaufort remarked: "No ruins of any magnitude were observed on its shores, but sufficient traces of buildings to prove that they were once as thickly settled as the other parts of this district."⁵⁵

Tristomon was part of a vast maritime complex, distinguished by a wealth of buildings over the whole area. Simena, the most substantial place, had a small theatre, baths, a temple, and numerous private houses, the latter probably of late antique date. More impressive for its remains of the time of Nicholas, however, is the long island, whose north shore is almost continuously lined with small houses, each with its own cistern. At one point, the tall apse of a large basilical church stands out; other small churches or chapels are visible amongst the remains of the houses. Another large settlement stands on the southern shore, while one of the adjacent islets bears a basilical church and a baptistery.⁵⁶

These abundant structures witness not only a substantial population, more than the area possessed before or since, but also the great importance of commerce in the region, for the lack of water and of arable land in the immediate vicinity (the whole coast here is steep and rocky) meant that this whole complex of towns had to live from the sea and from relation between it and the interior. Tristomon and its immediate neighbors evidently prospered by shipping the products of the interior, especially wood, to other parts of the Mediterranean, and from the coastal trade which must have been intense all along this shore. It is thus highly natural that the port should figure in the account of the saint's travels, and that a ship could be found there ready to embark for a place as far away as Ascalon.

The life contains one new toponym which may be identified without any doubt. When the saint returned from his second journey to the Holy Land, the occasion when only a miracle persuaded the captain

⁵⁵Beaufort 21; see Bean 115f for a general description, and C. Foss, "The Coasts of Caria and Lycia in the Middle Ages: A Preliminary Report," *Foundation européenne de la science, Rapports des missions effectuées en 1983* (Paris 1987) 229f for the late antique remains. Chapel: Harrison 1963. 144f.

⁵⁶Simena: Bean 116f.; islands: Foss (previous note) 229. Church on Kekova: Ibid, and Harrison, "Churches," 144. Benndorf (above, n.40) 28 remarked on the numerous rectangular cuttings at Simena, on all sides of Kekova island, and in the islands and harbors of the bay to the east, apparently not recognizing them as cisterns.

to let him disembark at Andriake, his first site of his native country was the Chelidon Mountains, near Phoenix (sec. 37). Oddly enough, although the Chelidonian promontory (also called Hiera Akra, the Holy Point, and the promontory of Taurus because the Taurus range was considered to begin here) has long been identified—it preserved its name until recently as Gelidonya Burnu—as have the offshore Chelidonian islands, the name of the high mountain behind them has remained virtually unknown.⁵⁷ The peak of the Markiz Dağ, which rises to almost 1000 m and forms an impressive landmark for anyone sailing to Lycia, especially from the east, may therefore be identified as Mount Chelidon.

Previously Proposed Identifications

Four other places occur in the life have been identified with ancient or modern sites:⁵⁸

Kausai (sec. 57): a stop on the saint's long journey of sacrifice, site of a church of Saint Theodore. This has been identified with Kas, now called Kasaba (the name was transferred to the former Andifilo on the coast when the governor moved down from the interior in the nineteenth century), the center of the long and fertile interior basin where many rivers unite to form the main tributary of the Myros.⁵⁹ No antiquities have been reported from the town, which was the regional capital in Ottoman times. The identification is based on the apparent phonetic resemblance between the names, but that seems less convincing when examined: Kausai would have been pronounced 'Kafse' or (in the accusative from which modern toponyms are often derived) 'Kafsas.' Neither of these is especially close to Kas, which has a meaning in Turkish, and so need not be derived from any ancient name. A location at Kaş is also hard to fit into the itinerary of Nicholas, who began this trip in Karkabo (Alakilise), then came to Kausai. Unfortunately, the places following Kausai cannot be identified, so no certainty is possible, but the itinerary, if it has any geographical merit, would seem to suggest a place nearer Holy Zion.

⁵⁷Anrich 2.559 made the obvious identification, which seems not to have been noticed.

⁵⁸The identifications were proposed by Anrich 2.527-42, and are discussed by Robert 202-3, 205.

⁵⁹See the description of Benndorf and Niemann (above, n.40) 127.

Kendema (sec. 73): home of a man with an evil spirit who came to Nicholas for a cure. Similarity of name has caused this to be equated with Gödeme, on the road between Holy Zion and Myra. The site contains scattered remains, including a Roman sarcophagus with an inscription which shows that the site was on the territory of Myra. Although no churches or late antique remains have been reported, it is probable that Gödeme was occupied in the sixth century, since it stands at the junction of roads which lead down from both Holy Zion (and Arneae) and Karkabo (Alakilise) to Myra. The identification is very plausible.

Kroba (sec. 70): the saint visited the local church of the Archangel, where he cured the deranged son of a woman from the village of Kyparissos. Kroba has been taken as a form of the name Korba, a village on the territory of Kyaneai, the city which controlled most of the interior west of Myra. It lies about ten kilometers from the sea and three from the gorge of the Myros, in an inland region of a high broken plateau defined largely by the Myros and its tributary now called the Fellen Çay. The small site consists of a fortified hilltop, with ruins of a church on its western slope. No details have been published.⁶⁰ The identification seems reasonable.

Seroiata (secs. 64, 65): home of two men afflicted by evil spirits, one brought to Nicholas by a whole party of villagers. Similarity of name has led to the identification with Seyret, a site well to the west of the region so far considered, about 40 kilometers from Holy Zion, and in no natural connection with it. The ancient town stood on three hilltops at an altitude of 940 meters, overlooking a valley where one of the tributaries of the Fellen Çay, which itself flows into the Myros, rises. It appears to have lain in the territory of Patara. The remains are largely of the Lycian period, but standing house walls may represent Late Antiquity. No church or building clearly datable to the sixth century has been identified.⁶¹ Beside the resemblance of the names, which carries some conviction, there is nothing for or against the identification. If it is correct, it provides one more instance of Nicholas' fame reaching districts far from his own.

⁶⁰Bean 106; Petersen and v. Luschan, *Reisen* 2.26 mention the church. The name of the site is known from an inscription discovered before 1889, but apparently still unpublished: see Robert 205 n.2.

⁶¹See the description in Bean 99, and the briefer account of *Reisen* 2.128f.

Unidentified Sites

So far, this study has considered places in the immediate vicinity of Holy Zion, known cities and ports, and the few sites for which identifications have been proposed. The other toponyms invite speculation, though some suggestions may be made. Before listing the names and considering the possibilities, however, it will be useful to review the sites in the region of Holy Zion and Myra which contain remains from the time of Saint Nicholas. The researches of Prof. Harrison and of the German team of Grossman and Severin have been so comprehensive that few if any sites are likely to have gone unrecorded in the mountains between Limyra and Arneai, or in the coastal district of Myra surveyed by Prof. Jürgen Borchhardt, the excavator of Limyra, and his associates.⁶² If this list contains few places that can actually be identified, it will at least give an idea of the extent of habitation in the region where Saint Nicholas lived and worked. The sites are arranged geographically, beginning with those closest to Holy Zion.

Çağman: site about 4 kilometers north of Holy Zion, on the road to Arneai. It has a small three-aisled basilica with atrium and detached triconch on its acropolis, and another, of simpler plan, a kilometer to the north.⁶³

Karabol: settlement about 3 kilometers east of Çağman, on the road which skirts the Alacadağ to descend eventually to Belen and Finike (Phoenix). The remains include a small church of large squared blocks and rubble walls which may belong to a settlement around it.⁶⁴

Devekuyusu: settlement an hour east of Karabel at the head of a valley which leads down to Muskar. The site contains a church with triconch at its eastern end, very similar in size to Holy Zion, but built of less careful masonry. It had several adjacent buildings on the north.⁶⁵

Dikmen: a hilltop at the southwest end of the Alakilise (Karkabo) valley, above the road to Muskar, with a triconch church of large ashlar blocks. Traces of field systems observed on the north slopes suggest

⁶²See Grossman and Severin and *Myra*. The former is only a preliminary report, while the detailed treatment of the latter stresses certain aspects of its subject and slights others.

⁶³Harrison, "Churches," 137, Grossman and Severin 107.

⁶⁴Harrison, "Churches," 137.

⁶⁵Harrison, "Churches," 137.

a settlement around the church.⁶⁶

Derekuyu: a chapel with houses and cisterns at the lower end of the Alakilise valley; no details published.⁶⁷

Turant Dağ: a high mountain (805 m) south of Alakilise and east of Muskar, with an ancient site whose occupation in the sixth century is attested by a basilica of the usual type, built of finely cut blocks and showing some decorative carving, as well as a solid two-storey building.⁶⁸

Alacahisar: large church on a hilltop about 5 kilometers southwest of Holy Zion, much of it cut from the rock. The church has a triconch apse and elaborate stone carving analogous to that of Holy Zion.⁶⁹

Other settlements were in less proximity to Nicholas' monastery, but still in the same mountain region, and within a day's journey: Asarönü: on the east slopes of the mountain which separates Myra and Limyra, about halfway between Çağman and Phoenix on the road which connects them, site of a rectangular domed structure with a projecting apse, perhaps an early Christian tomb.⁷⁰

Danabası: 13 kilometers above Myra in the gorge of the Myros, a small basilica with pillars supporting arcades, and attached to buildings.⁷¹

Dere Ağzı: Small settlement at the head of the Myra gorge, in a strategic location at the confluence of the two rivers which form the Myros, connected with Holy Zion only by roundabout routes. Site of an impressive Hellenistic and Byzantine fortress and a great Byzantine church of the ninth century. In this period, finds of pottery and coins indicate some settlement, but no buildings have been discovered.⁷²

Çamarkası, about 2 kilometers southwest of Arneae: basilica with

⁶⁶Harrison, "Churches," 130; the field systems are mentioned in passing in Harrison "Aspects" 528.

⁶⁷Harrison, "Nouvelles découvertes" 232.

⁶⁸Harrison, "Nouvelles découvertes" 232.

⁶⁹Harrison, "Churches," 136, 147.

⁷⁰Rott 76f.; cf. Harrison, "Churches," 126.

⁷¹Harrison, "Churches," 138; Grossman and Severin 103f add details but curiously date the church to the 8/9th century.

⁷²See Morganstern (above, notes 28 and 42).

triconch apse, of the sixth century.⁷³

A final group of settlements lay in the mountains immediately behind Myra:

Gürses: ancient site about 6 kilometers west of Myra, high in the mountains overlooking the entire coast of central Lycia, reached by an ancient road which passed through the town of Sura. The site contained a three-aisled basilica apparently of the fifth-sixth century.⁷⁴

Beymelek: Site on a high ridge six kilometers east of Myra, reached by an ancient road, and overlooking the sea and the Myros valley. It includes a small basilica with an unusually fine synthronon, and remains of houses and cisterns, evidently of late antique date.⁷⁵

Belen: four kilometers east of Beymelek, and at a much higher elevation, on a road which leads from Çağman to the port of Phoenix. It includes remains of houses and a church (not described), evidence of late antique occupation.⁷⁶

These relatively abundant remains indicate considerable settlement in the whole mountainous region of Myra, with considerable evidence for activity in the time of Saint Nicholas. Even though most of them cannot be identified, they provide a clear illustration of the conditions which the life describes, with numerous villages even in the most remote mountains.

Villages of Saint Nicholas

The list of sites may be compared with the names which actually appear in the life. They will be presented here (in alphabetical order) to review the material and to see whether any may be identified with known sites.⁷⁷ Correlation is possible in very few cases, but several possibilities do arise when the names are considered in the context of the remains.

Andronikos (26): center of a district (*chora*) which included a village called Presbaion. No indication of location, but evidently, like

⁷³Grossman and Severin 108f.

⁷⁴*Myra* 81-4 (ancient site), 416f (church).

⁷⁵*Myra* 87-9.

⁷⁶*Myra* 90f.

⁷⁷The number following the name indicates the section of the *Vita* in which it is mentioned.

Tragalassos and Sabandos already considered, a place of local importance.

Arnabanda (20, 21, 23, 63, 74): a village (*kome*: 24) which appears more frequently than any other. Its inhabitants came to the Saint when their spring failed; he found water for them on the neighboring Mount Kaisar in a hidden place which had been known to their fathers (20-24). Later, two men possessed by evil spirits were brought to the saint (63, 74). In the account of the miracle of the water, the villagers came down to the saint who in turn went up to them, suggesting a site at a higher altitude than Holy Zion; it was certainly in close proximity to a mountain. Its frequent appearance in the life suggests a place relatively close to the monastery. It was a small site, not a local center. All these conditions would suit Alacahisar, an isolated small place high on a mountain within an hour of Karabel, and adorned with a church reminiscent of Holy Zion and probably contemporary with it. Identification with Alacahisar is very tempting, if hypothetical.

Damasei (41, 58): village in the district of Sabandos. When Nicholas had the church of Saint Daniel in Kastellon repaired, he entrusted the work to the deacon Nicholas from Damasei, and to a master builder. If, as suggested above, Sabandos is to be identified with Myskar and Kastellon with the nearby fortress, Damasei should be sought in the immediate neighborhood. It could conceivably be the site which contains a small chapel halfway between Muskar and the fortress.⁷⁸ Presence of a chapel rather than a church might be appropriate to a place which provided a deacon for the church of Kastellon. On the other hand, the chapel is only half a kilometer from Muskar, so possibly is to be considered as part of that agglomeration.

Edrasa (75): Home of a childless couple; no indication of status or location.

Hemalissoi (57): a place where Nicholas stopped on his long journey, to sacrifice at the shrine (*eukterion oikon*) of Melissa, perhaps a local saint.⁷⁹ It appears between Kastellon and Holy Zion. If the sequence

⁷⁸Harrison, "Churches," 131.

⁷⁹The name Melissa seems not to have attracted comment, although the saint, if such she is, does not appear in the calendar of the eastern church (see the index of *Synaxarium ecclesiae constantinopolitanae*, ed. H. Delehaye, Brussels 1902), nor, as far as I can tell, anywhere else.

of places has any geographical relevance, the location would suit Devekuyusu, which is in precisely such a location, 'an hour's walk east of Karabel at the head of the Somakli Deresi, a valley which carries a track down to Muskar.'⁸⁰ It is not on the direct road between Muskar and the monastery, but that appears to be devoid of ancient sites.

Kaisar, Mount (23, 24): see Arnabanda.

Kyparissos (70): see the discussion of Corba above.

Nautes (57): a stop on Nicholas' long journey, site of a church of the Virgin. It appears between Symbolon and Serina, both unknown. The name, 'Sailor' seems very curious in what is apparently a mountain region; perhaps it derived from some local statue or relief (as on a sarcophagus) so interpreted, and may indicate an ancient site. Compare with Stratiotes below.

Nea Kome (56, 57): a village with a church of the Holy Archangel, visited by Nicholas on his long journey. It appears between Kausai (see above) and Partaessos, both unidentified.

Nikapo (71): a village, home of a woman who was withered; no indication of location.

Oualo (61): village of Oenoanda; see above.

Oumbe (79): home, but not necessarily the residence, of the deacon who took charge of the wake for Saint Nicholas. No evidence for location, though the circumstantial mention of the place in this context may suggest the immediate vicinity of Holy Zion.

Partaessos (57): a stop on Nicholas' long journey, between Nea Kome and Symbolon, both unknown. Site of a shrine to Saint Apphianos.

Plakoma (15, 16): site of the great demon-infested cypress tree which Nicholas cut down. The place was evidently at no great distance from Holy Zion, since the sawyers who cut the wood were recruited from Karkabo (Alakilise). After their work was done, people from the whole surrounding district of Arneai and Myra came to carry away the wood. This suggests a location between those two places, perhaps near the common boundary of their territories. Çağman would suit the location and perhaps the description, for Plakoma was apparently a well-watered place if it could support such a magnificent tree. Çağman

⁸⁰Harrison, "Churches," 137.

is distinguished in this region by its fountain (of 'Byzantine' origin) and its large plane trees, sure signs of an abundance of water. It contains remains from the period, and stands at the end of the territory of Arneae, near the boundary with that of Myra, as noted above. The name Plakoma, 'Pavement' is rather surprising in this context. It should refer to some feature in the village, perhaps the paving of an ancient road (though the roads of this district were more like tracks than more formal Roman roads) or a paved square. Even more curiously, the name recurs locally as the name of the market square of Andriake, presumably because that was paved. Any connection between the two seems coincidental.⁸¹ In any case, possibly to be identified with Çağman.

Plenion (55, 66): seat of a shrine (*eukterion*) of Saint George which Nicholas visited after the plague, apparently in a separate trip. It was apparently a local administrative center (though only described as a *kome*), since it had a village called Rhabbamousa. No evidence for location.

Presbaion (sec. 26): village of Andronikos, q.v.

Rhabbamousa (66): village of Plenion, q.v.

Serine (57): home of a shrine of Saint Irene (or of 'Holy Peace') visited by Nicholas on his long journey. It is mentioned between Nautes and Trebendai, both unlocated.

Sibinos (72): home of a withered man who came to the saint to be cured; no evidence for location.

Sokla (77): home of a lunatic woman; no evidence for location.

Stratiotes (75): a place of uncertain nature (*to kaloumenon S.*) where Nicholas stopped between Myra and Holy Zion; a curious name, like Nautes above, perhaps derived from an ancient monument.

Symbolon (57): a stop on Nicholas' long journey, site of a shrine of the Archangel and Saint Demetrios. Almost certainly not to be identified with the modern Symbolo, a port south of Telemessus, in the far west of Lycia, a region unrelated to the events of this life. In this journey, it appears between Partaessos and Nautes, both unknown.

Trebendai (57): visited by Nicholas, who sacrificed at its shrine of the Archangel during his long journey. The place is mentioned

⁸¹See above, n. 36.

between Serine, whose location is unknown, and Kastellon, which was in the neighborhood of Muskar. Unlike the other sites in the present list, Trebendai is attested in other sources and has even the subject of serious discussion. It is named by Ptolemy among the cities of Lycia; in 146, it passed a decree in honor of the Lyciarch, Jason of Kyaneai; according to an inscription from Tristomon, a woman from Myra and her husband who was a Myran from Trebendai transferred ownership of a local tomb; and finally, a dedication to the goddess Eleuthera of Trebendai (*Trebendatike*) was found at Simena.⁸² These documents show that Trebendai was an independent city, not a village, and that at some point it was united with Myra in a sympolity of a kind already noted in the case of Akalissos. Although none gives a precise location, the association with Tristomon and Simena would suggest a site in the western part of the territory of Myra, perhaps in the coastal district. Its remains, if they exist, should be both Roman and late antique. Finally, the site should be within a day's journey of Kastellon. The proposal of Prof. Borchhardt that Trebendai might be identified with Gürses, therefore, has some appeal.⁸³ Gürses is west of Myra—though not on the coast—has appropriate remains, and is about ten kilometers, a walk of a few hours, from Muskar (Kastellon). Although positive evidence is lacking, the identification can be accepted as a reasonable hypothesis.

Conclusion

The life of Saint Nicholas offers a great deal of detail about the homeland of the saint, but rarely enough to allow any of the places it mentions, beside the monastery of Holy Zion, actually to be visualized. It does, though, give a clear impression of a society and economy in which village life flourished, with each village having its own church and being in relation with its neighbors, the monastery, and the metropolis. The remains, on the other hand, provide concrete detail which shows that central Lycia was in a flourishing state in the Saint's time, and confirms the picture of numerous prosperous villages, even in the most remote districts. Correlation of the two, by identifying as many sites as possible with the known toponymns, creates a far

⁸²See the comprehensive article of W. Ruge in *RE* with full references; cf. the additional comments of Robert 206f., mostly devoted to polemic against A. H. M. Jones.

⁸³Offered as a possibility in *Myra* 82.

more substantial image which enables the Saint's life and activities to be more readily understood.

The mountains of Lycia would seem an extremely remote place, suitable for the contemplation of a hermit. Saint Nicholas, though, was extremely active, and lived in a world which was not isolated at all, but had many interconnections: between villages, between cities, between cities and their dependent villages, and between the country and the outside world. All functioned within a framework of mutual dependence.

Holy Zion itself was not remote from the world, but in a good location for repose—by lying high in the mountains—or for activity, thanks to the adjacent road connecting the two cities of Arneai and Myra. Consideration of this and other roads in the region, carefully constructed and often carved in the rocks, shows the value attributed to such connections. Traffic passed between these two cities, as the agricultural products of the interior were brought down to market in the metropolis, which also would attract people on all kinds of civil and ecclesiastical business. The highlanders no doubt returned to their cities and villages with cash and manufactured goods not available at home.

Most traffic past Holy Zion would have been directed to Myra, the provincial capital, whose territory stretched past the monastery. It was a flourishing city, with a theatre and other public buildings as well as the church of the ancient Saint Nicholas, the goal of pilgrims. Myra prospered from trade, especially in agricultural products such as the grain stored in the granary at Andriake, or the wood or wine of places like Karkabo. The port was especially active, with its docks, warehouses, grain mill and crowded residential district. It was in easy communication with the Levant, Greece and Constantinople, and was larger than the neighboring ports of Phoenix and Tristomon. These served the neighbors of Myra, Limyra and Kyaneai, but were also suitable for communication with Holy Zion by a network of mountain roads and paths. Because of favorable geographic conditions—they had good harbors and presented the first convenient landfall between Egypt and Constantinople, or the West—the smaller ports also had regular contacts with the Levant, and an active commercial life.

The territory of Myra included the village Tragalassos and its dependent hamlet Pharroa, the site of Holy Zion. The whole region was organized hierarchically, with the city at the head of its territory,

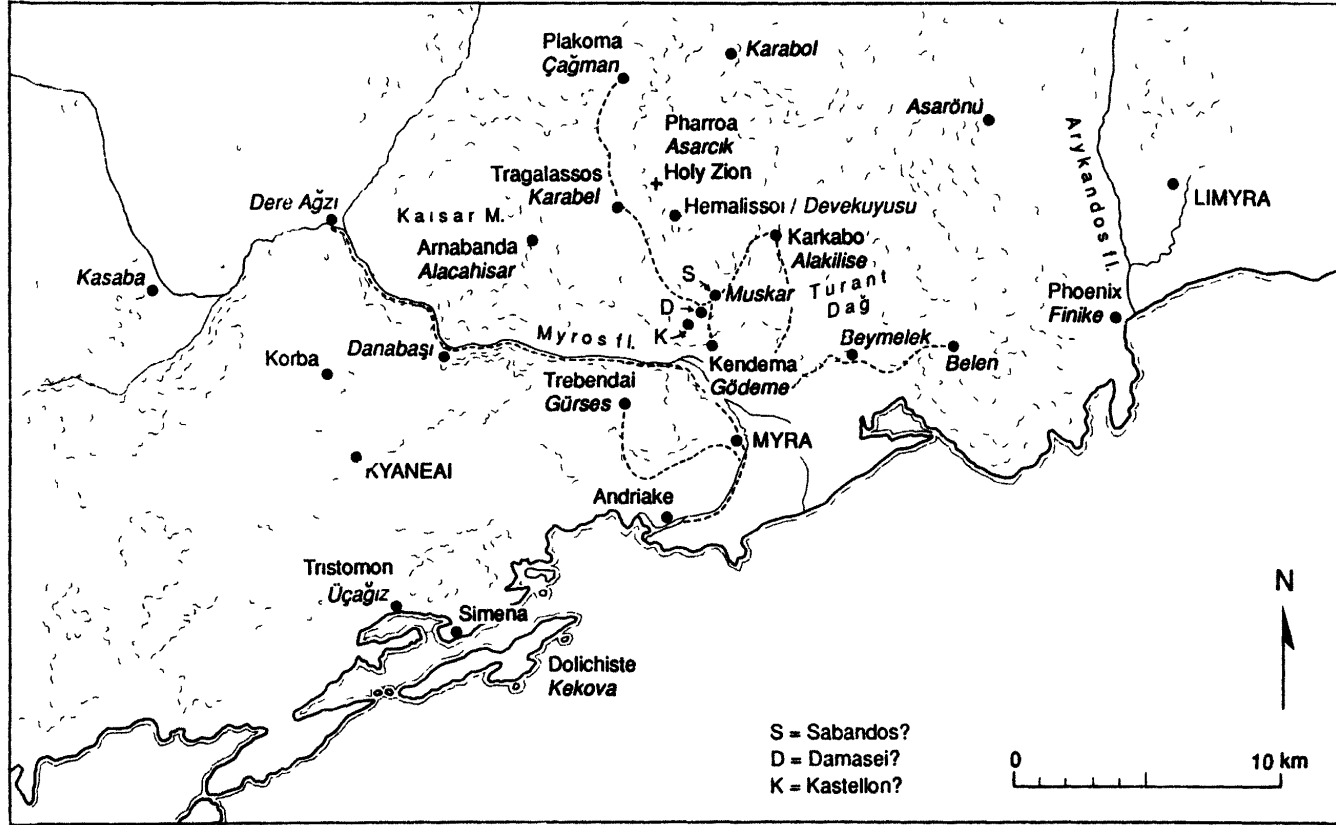
(*enoria* or *perichoros*), and local administration entrusted to certain villages, presumably the larger ones, which were in charge of their districts, usually called *chorai*. The territory occupied a large area, with many villages, probably including most of those mentioned in the life. Even though small places, with population probably numbered on the hundreds, they manifested a surprising degree of prosperity. Many had elaborate churches of solid stone, often of sophisticated plan and with fine carved decorative stonework.

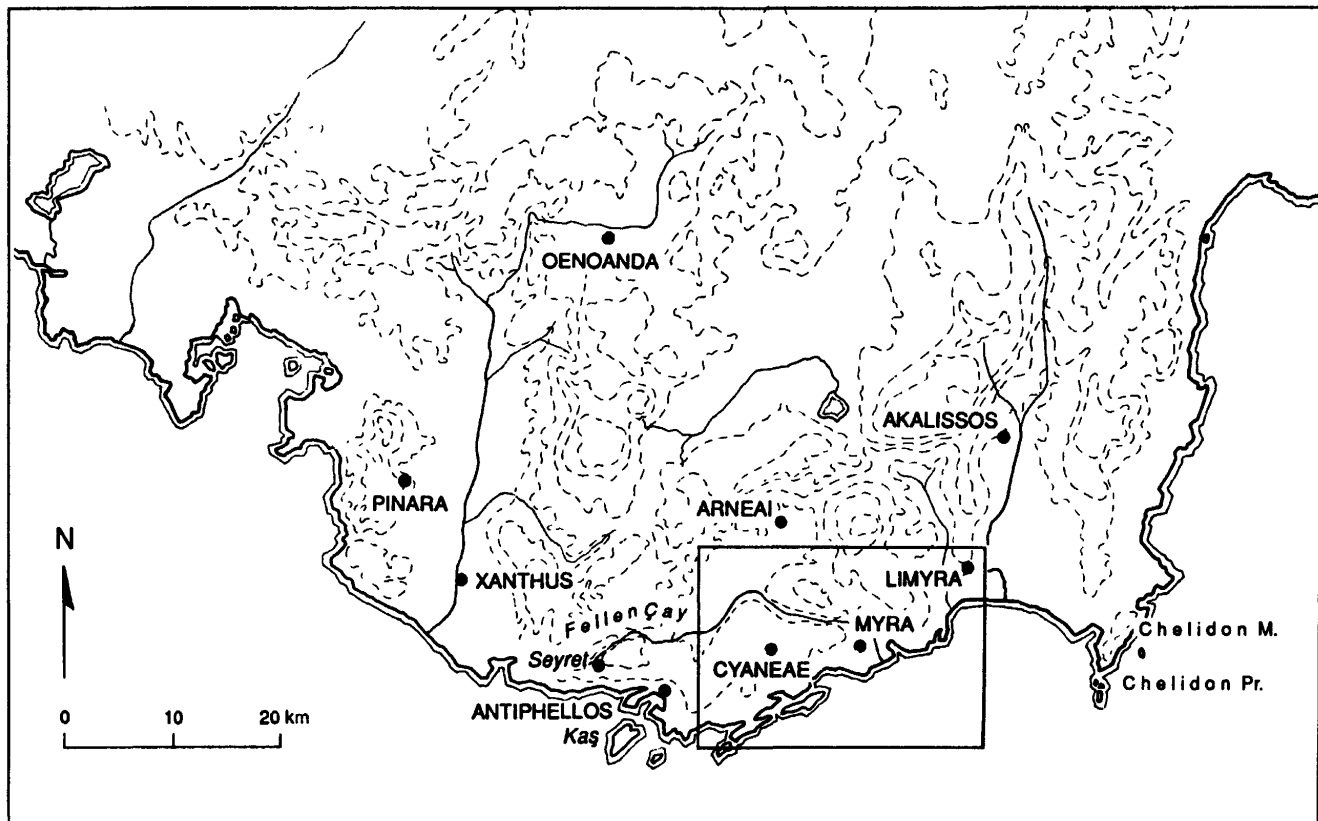
Occasionally, an entire settlement can be envisioned, as at Karkabo, whose great church stood amid numerous stone houses of two stories, all with their winepresses and cisterns, surrounded by steep limestone hills terraced for cultivation and crowned with forests. The site and remains immediately reveal the economic activities which enabled such a place to survive and prosper: it produced wine and probably timber if not grain for sale in the metropolis and quite probably for consumption in the capital. Surpluses from such activities could pay for the unexpectedly magnificent churches and solid stone houses which characterize not just Karkabo but the whole region. As long as the network of interconnection was maintained, places like Karkabo could overcome the limits of their environment and prosper. The inevitable presence of cisterns, however, reveals a harsh ever-present reality, the lack of water much of the year, and reflects the difficulty of establishing permanent settlements in these highlands, and the precarious nature of their existence. Maintenance of such large settlements in areas which have ever since been deserted depended on trade. Without it, such small and remote valleys could not offer the balance of resources which would be needed to support relatively large populations. When connections were disrupted on a large scale, these villages could no longer function as they had, and a new world with few and isolated small settlements, without large cities, came into being and prevailed until modern times.

Saint Nicholas lived to see no such disruption. He died toward the end of the reign of Justinian, having known a world of peace and prosperity. Certainly the plague had intervened to cause widespread loss, but that would appear to have effected the city more than the countryside, and nothing in the life suggests that the region failed to recover. The remains might offer more precision, but most of them can be dated only approximately, so that it is not possible to identify any major change within the sixth century. Prosperity certainly seems to have continued until at least 560 or so, the date of the lavish silver

furnishings of Holy Zion.

The followers of the saint, though, could have lived to see a different world altogether. The early seventh century brought the devastating war with the Persians who ravaged Asia Minor during their campaigns. The country had no time to recover before the Arabs arrived and began annual raids against the country. Most of these were directed to the interior and the capital, but the crushing Byzantine defeat in the naval battle of Phoenix, in this very shore, in 655, marked the end of imperial supremacy at sea and the beginning of a long age when this region was as severely threatened as any other. The events of those years are not the subject here; it may be sufficient to remember that the great silver treasure of Holy Zion is preserved because it was found buried in a hillside near the coast, probably by looters who were storing it temporarily before removing it by sea. Whether they were Persians or Arabs cannot be told, but their activity marks a clear break with the age of Saint Nicholas. That was a happy time when monks and peasants with their goods could travel securely through the country, to bring a level of prosperity never reached again until very recent decades. The remains show that the prosperity extended even to remote villages whose churches, houses and traces of agriculture so clearly illuminate the life, just as life itself gives a brilliant insight into conditions in a remarkable corner of the empire in the time of Justinian.





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Commentary on the Patriarchal Message on the Day of the Protection of the Environment

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IN A PASTORAL MESSAGE DATED SEPTEMBER 1, 1989, HIS ALL Holiness the Ecumenical Patriarch Dimitrios established the first day of September as the "Day of the Protection of the Environment." The work here presented intends to serve as a theological commentary on some of the major themes and underlying motifs of this *Message*. These themes and motifs are a synthesis of constitutive elements drawn from larger systems of meaning, i.e. Scripture, tradition, liturgy, the writings of the Fathers, etc., and so the method employed in this commentary is analytical and contextual. It is hoped that by reading the *Message* in the light of these broader contexts, the range and depth of its meaning will be expanded and thereby more fully appreciated.

The commentary has three sections. The first section examines the history and theology of creedal statements on creation. The second considers the position and role of the human person in creation while the third section is primarily concerned with the significance of the Incarnation, Church, and Eucharist for creation. The selection of these areas is suggested by the text's introduction in which, by way of an interesting and important self-definition, "the Ecumenical Throne of Orthodoxy" is described as the "keeper and proclaimer of the centuries-long spirit of the patristic tradition, and faithful interpreter of the eucharistic and liturgical experience of the Orthodox Church."

Creation and the Creed: History and Theology

The *Message* of His All Holiness states that it is "a fundamental

dogma of her [the Church of Christ] faith that the world was created by God the Father, who is confessed in the Creed to be 'the creator of heaven and earth and of all things visible and invisible.' " In order to further appreciate the significance of both this faith and its confession, this section will briefly examine the history of various creedal statements on creation, and the theology and dogmatic tendency of those statements.

History

While interest in and concern for creation have characterized Eastern creeds from the very beginning, the same can not be said of Western creeds. The ancient Roman Baptismal Creed¹ makes no reference to creation other than to note that God is *omnipotentem* which may be nothing more than a honorific periphrasis of *patrem*.² This creed enjoyed immense prestige in the West and was widely imitated. Thus, one is not surprised to find a similar desuetude among its numerous "daughter creeds," such as the creeds of Milan,³ Ravenna,⁴ Turin,⁴ and Remesiana,⁵ as well as the oldest surviving Spanish⁶ and Gallic creeds with the notable exception of the creed of Arles.⁷ Interestingly enough, the three surviving African creeds

¹The Latin text may be found in Tyrannius Rufinus, *Commentarius in symbolum apostolorum*; CCL 20 (1961) 133-182; Greek translations in Marcellus of Ancyra, *Frag.* 129-24; GCS (Eusebios' Werke 4 1906) 214-15, and Epiphanius of Salamis, *Πανάριον (Against Heresies)* 72.3.1; GCS 37 (1933) 258. All the creeds referred to in this section can be found in A. Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der Alten Kirche* (Hildesheim, 1962) and J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds* (3rd ed; Essex, 1972). See also F.J. Badcock, *The History of Creeds* (London, 1930).

²Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, p. 132.

³This creed has been reconstructed from the writings of Augustine, *In traditione symboli*, (*Serm.*, 212, 213); *In redditione symboli* (*Serm* 214); PL 38.1058-76, and Ambrose of Milan, *Explanatio symboli ad initiandos*; CSEL 73 (1955) 1-2; PL 17.1155-60.

⁴Ravenna = Peter Chrysologos, *Serm* 56-62, *De symbolo apostolorum*; PL 52.354-75; Turin = Maximus of Turin, *Serm* 83, *De traditione symboli*; PL 57. 433-40.

⁵Niketas of Remesiana, *De ratione fidei*; PL 52.847-76.

⁶Priscillian Creed, *Liber ad Damasum episcopum*, 2; CSEL 18 (1889) 34-43; Il-defonsus of Toledo, *Annotationum de cognitione baptismi*, 36; PL 96.113-72; *Mozarabic Liturgy*; PL 85.395A.

⁷Creed of Riez=(pseudo?) Faustus of Riez, *De symbolo* and *Tractatus de symbolo*; Hahn, *Bibliothek*, p. 70.

of Hippo, Carthage and Ruspe⁸ all contain an identical affirmation of the created order: *Credimus in deum patrem omnipotentem, universorum creatorem, regem saeculorum, immortalem et invisibilem*.

Contemporary Eastern creeds, on the other hand, are all concerned with the theological significance of the created order. Thus, the creed found in the Apostolic Constitutions⁹ the creed of (Theodore of) Mopsuestia,¹⁰ the creed of Antioch,¹¹ the creed of (Cyril of) Jerusalem¹² and the creed of (Eusebios of) Caesarea¹³ are unanimous in affirming that God the Father, through the agency of his Logos (Jn 1.3; Heb 1.10), is the Creator of "heaven and earth and of all things visible and invisible." One is thus justified in speaking of an Eastern creedal "type" which typically places the Gospel message within an expansive cosmic setting.

As their titles suggest, all these creeds were of local provenance and had geographically limited application and authority. However, the onslaught of Arianism served to unite these diverse statements into a unified and normative whole called the Nicene Creed, promulgated at the First Ecumenical Synod of Nicea in 325 A.D. and completed at the Second Ecumenical Synod held in Constantinople in 381 A.D.

Arianism raised the question of the ontological relation between God and creation. For Arius the existence of two "absolute" (i.e. divine) beings was a logical impossibility and so he denied the divinity of the Son and separated him from the uncreated God by locating him within the created order. In response, the Church agreed that there is in fact no ontological link between God and the created world but denied that the Son owed his origins to the latter. The world is created from nothing by the *will* of God and is not derived from God's *essence*. The Son is not a created product of God's will but is

⁸Hippo=Augustine, *In redditione symboli*, (Serm. 215); PL 38:1072-10766; Carthage=Ps. — Augustine, *Sermo de symbolo ad catechumenos*; PL 40:637-652; Ruspe=Fulgentius, *Frag.*; CCL 91a: 854-60; 831-36.

⁹Hahn, *Bibliothek*, pp. 13-15.

¹⁰A. Mingana, *The Commentary of Theodore of Mopsuestia on the Nicene Creed*. Woodbrooke Studies 5 (Cambridge, 1932).

¹¹This creed survives in a Latin translation by John Cassian, *De incarnatione Domini contra Nestorium* 7, 6,3; PL 50.9-270.

¹²Cyril of Jerusalem, *Κατηχητικοὶ Λόγοι* 7-18; PG 33.605-1860.

¹³H.G. Opitz, *Athanasios' Werke* 3, (Berlin, 1934-35), p. 22; PG 20. 1537. See also J. Meyendorff, "Creation in the History of Orthodox Theology," *Saint Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 27 (1983) 27-37.

one-in-essence with God and thus "begotten not created." The Arian controversy thus made explicit the important distinction between the created and the uncreated and firmly placed the Son on the side of the uncreated.

Theology

Beyond these historical considerations which shaped the creed of Nicea, what is the dogmatic significance and tendency of those passages which refer to creation? Placed in their proper context, these lapidary formulations disclose a wealth of biblical and patristic theology. The confession of God as the Creator is a doctrine deeply rooted in the history of ancient Israel, for whom creation is but the first of God's great deeds which continue throughout history.¹⁴ Creation is the prelude to the drama of salvation establishing the love of God and the infidelity of human beings. The world exists because it is loved by God and its very existence points to the Father "who so loved the world" (Jn 3.16).

God is free to create or not to create, and, though active in the world, remains transcendent to the world after creation. God is the absolute sovereign of creation which is a dynamic reality both "good and beautiful" (Gen 1.4,34; Ps 24.1). Further, this created goodness and beauty have been given to the world by the Divine Logos, "through whom all things were made" (Jn 1.3; Col 1.16). It is the Logos who lovingly beckons the contingent elements of creation out of nothingness (Rom 4.17). It is the same Logos who, like a great cosmic axis, assures and maintains the unity of the richly diverse universe (Eph 1.10). In fact, it is only the continued care of God the Logos which prevents the fragmentation and disintegration of creation into the nothingness from which it sprang (Heb 1.3).

Further, that all things have been created "through" the Logos permits one to advance beyond the notion of mere functional agency. All of creation bears the mark of her Creator who has made her transparent to that which transcends creation. Though fallen, creation retains this inherent value, and it is through the beauty of the created order that one first encounters the beauty of God (Wis 13.5). "The heavens declare the glory of God" (Ps 19.1) and through the

¹⁴See, for example, the relevant articles in F. Blanquart (ed.), *La création dans l'orient ancien* (Paris, 1987), and B. Renaud, "La structure du Ps. 104 et ses implications théologiques," *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* 55 (1981) 1-30.

inner radiance of their created beauty the Logos recalls the presence of uncreated divinity whose glory ecstatically draws all human beings to adoration and praise (Ps 19.1-14; 89.5-15).

The creation of "heaven" as well as "all things invisible" stand for the creation of the angelic world. The angels work with God and man for the transformation and restoration of all created existence (Heb 1.14). Tradition maintains that the heavenly powers were created before the visible world.¹⁵ From this it may be said that the spiritual world preceded the material world, and that consciousness and the spirit are not derived from or reducible to the material, be it social, economic or political.

Finally, the role of the Holy Spirit in creation must be noted, even though this role is not explicit in the Creed. As the Son is the "instrument" of the Father in the creative act, so too is the spirit the "instrument" of the Son in the sanctification and redemption of creation.¹⁶ The creed confesses belief in the "Holy Spirit, the Lord, the Giver of Life," but this "life" is not simply biological existence, but the Son living in us, the "Life of the world" (Jn 7.37-40; 14.6; Rom 8.2), for "no one can say Jesus is Lord except by the Holy Spirit" (1 Cor 12.3). The Spirit does not reveal himself but remains hidden, "he will not be speaking as from himself" (Jn 16.13). Rather, in a kenotic, self-effacing movement, the Spirit transforms and empowers creation to understand the Son, and through the Son, the Father.¹⁷ Conversely, the single and indivisible creative act of God manifests

¹⁵Basil, *Ἐξαίμερον*, 1.5; PG 29.13-16; Gregory the Theologian *Oration* 38; PG 36.320C; John of Damascus, *Περί Ὁρθοδόξου Πίστεως*, 2,3; PG 94.873.

¹⁶This is the architectonic principle of Athanasios' *Ἐπιστολαὶ Δ': Πρὸς Σεραπίωνα*, *Περί τοῦ Ἀγίου Πνεύματος*, PG. 26.529-676; cf. G. Florovsky, "The concept of creation in Saint Athanasios," *Studia Patristica* 6 (1962) 36-57; T.C. Cambell, "The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit in the Theology of Athanasios," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 27 (1974) 408-40; see also Basil's *Περί Ἀγίου Πνεύματος*, 8.21; PG 32.105C; G. Florovsky, "Divine Life and the Holy Spirit in Saint Basil," in *The Eastern Fathers of the Fourth Century* (Belmont, 1987) pp. 102-107; K. Yamamura, "The Development of the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit in Patristic Philosophy: Saint Basil and Saint Gregory of Nyssa," *Saint Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 18 (1974) 3-21; D. Staniloae, "The Holy Spirit in the Theology and life of the Orthodox Church," *Sobornost* 7.1 (1975) 4-17; J. Moorhead, "The Spirit and the World," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 26 (1981) 113-17; J. Zizioulas, *Being as Communion* (New York, 1985) pp. 123-42.

¹⁷The role of the Spirit in the sanctification of creation is magnificently brought out in the *Doxastika* of the "Hymns of Ascent (Anabathmoi)" chanted during the Sunday matins.

an immanent distinction: The Father creates (and redeems!) all things through the Word in the Spirit.

MAN'S PRIVILEGED POSITION IN CREATION

His All Holiness affirms that the "abuse by contemporary man of his privileged position in creation and of the Creator's order to him "to have dominion over the earth" (Gen 1.28), has already led the world to the edge of apocalyptic self-destruction," and that, "according to the great Fathers of the Church, man is the prince of creation, endowed with the privilege of freedom. Being partaker simultaneously of the material and the spiritual world, he was created in order to refer back creation to the Creator, in order that the world may be saved from decay and death." To better understand these affirmations, this section will be concerned with the "dominion" and "freedom" of human beings over creation, their "simultaneous participation in the material and spiritual world," the vocation of the human beings to "refer back creation to the Creator," and their failure to do so in the person of the first Adam.

Image, Dominion, and Freedom

The human person has been created "according to the image and likeness of God" (Gen 1.26-27) and is uniquely God's image, revelation, manifestation and representative within the world. In the ancient Near East the king was regarded as the earthly representative of God and of divine rule over the world. By placing such authority not in an individual but in humanity as such Genesis universalizes the role of king in the immense context of creation. However, man's dominion over the world is qualified; he rules not with the violence and domination of an autocrat, but as a tender and loving steward who tills and cultivates creation with an eye towards its inner principles and final end.¹⁸ This essential qualification becomes increasingly clear in the New Testament where the royal rule of Christ is the rule of the love of God, the crucified "King of glory," (1 Cor 2.8; Col 2.14-15; Rev 17.14) who overturns customary notions of

¹⁸E. Timiadis, "God as Creator and Man as Steward of Creation," in his *The Nicene Creed: Our Common Faith* (Philadelphia, 1983), pp. 34-37. The stewardship of creation is also discussed by K. Ware, "The Value of the Material Creation," *Sobornost* 6.3 (1971) 154-65, and S. Harakas, "The Integrity of Creation and Ethics," *Saint Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 32 (1988) 27-42.

authority: "Whoever would be great among you must be your servant, and whoever would be first among you must be slave of all" (Mk 10.43-44). Finally, the relationship between "image" and its expression as "dominion" over creation is attested to by many Fathers of the Church.¹⁹

Closely allied with dominion over creation is the human attribute of freedom. Freedom is always mediated by the created reality of time and space; it is always freedom exercised in the world, in relationship to materiality and history. Despite the necessarily mediated nature of freedom, human self-determination is not a matter of blind instinct, genetics, environment or history. Rather, it is the free choice of an *ethos* habituating *physis* to *logos*; a freely chosen manner of life aligning and intersecting nature with that which is beyond nature. Freedom is the condition for the possibility of salvation. The Fathers of the Church, for whom determinism in all its forms was repugnant, insist that man, despite sin, remains fundamentally free.²⁰

Finally, the biblical injunction to "dominate" the earth has itself been accused of promoting the technological exploitation and destruction of the environment. In a theory which has gained some acceptance, the historian L.T. White has traced the impetus of this destruction to the biblical notion of human destiny linked to the domination of the earth.²¹ However, the patriarchal *Message* rightly

¹⁹For example, Clement of Alexandria *Strom.* 2.19; PG 8.1040-48; Ephraim the Syrian *In Genesim*, 1.29; CSCO 152.23; Gregory of Nyssa, *Katà Eðnovóμov*, 1; PG 45.308-09; *Περὶ Κατασκευῆς ἀνθρώπου*, 4; PG 44.136; John Chrysostom, *Εἰς τοὺς ἀνδριάντας*, 7.2; PG 49.93; *Εἰς Γένεσιν*, 8.3; PG 53.72; Cyril of Alexandria, *Εἰς Γένεσιν* 1; PG 69.20; Isidore of Pelusium *Ep.*, 3.95; PG 78.801; Theodoret of Kyrros, *Εἰς Γένεσιν*, 20; PG 80.105. See also D.S. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Greek Patristic View of Nature* (New York, 1968).

²⁰Cf. Philo of Alexandria, *On the Immutability of God*, 47-48; LCL 3.33-35; Clement of Alexandria, *Στρωματεῖς*, 5.13; PG 9.124-29; Athanasios, *Katà Ἑλλήνων*, 4; PG 25.9B; *Katà Ἀπολλιναρῖον*, 1.15; PG 26.1120; Basil, "Ὅτι οὐκ ἐστὶν αἴτιος τῶν κακῶν ὁ Θεός", 6 PG 31.344; Gregory of Nyssa, *Πρὸς τοὺς πενθοῦντας*, PG 46.524; *Περὶ παρθενίας*, 12; PG 46.317-416; *Ἐξήγησις τοῦ ἁμαρτοῦ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν*, 2; PG 44.796; *Μέγας Κατηχητικὸς λόγος*, 5; PG 45.24; Didymos, *Περὶ τῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος*, 2, 12; PG 39.680; Cyril of Jerusalem *Κατηχητικοὶ λόγοι*, 4.18; PG 33.477; Cyril of Alexandria, *Γλάφυρον εἰς Γένεσιν*, 1; PG 69.24; *Εἰς Ἰωάννην* 9, 1; Pusey 2.485; Pseudo-Makarios, *Περὶ ἐλευθερίας νοός*, PG 34.935-68. See also, J. Gaith, *La conception de la liberté chez Grégoire de Nysse*, (Paris, 1953); R. Schaerer, *L'homme devant ses choix dans la tradition grecque* (Louvain, 1965).

²¹L.T. White, "The Historical Roots of Our Ecological Crisis," *Science* 155 (1967) 1203-07; A. Toynbee, "The Genesis of Pollution," *Horizon* 15 (1973) 4-9; J.L. Ice, "The Ecological Crisis," *Religion in Life* 44 (1975) 203-11; A. Dumas, "The Ecological

points to the "abuse" of this privilege and not the privilege itself: human beings are to rule over creation in a spirit of responsibility and accountability to the Creator. In fact, such "abuse" arises when and to the extent that human beings turn away from the Creator God of the Bible and assert and interpret their freedom as an arbitrary, autonomous and unlimited license for the violation of non-human nature. As His All Holiness indicates, such a claim has been unsettled by the ecological crisis, in which creation itself "is now beginning to protest at its treatment by the human being."

The World of Matter and the World of the Spirit

When His All Holiness, following the "great Fathers of the Church," asserts that man is "a partaker simultaneously of the material world and the spiritual world," one cannot help but recall the words of Saint Gregory the Theologian who was himself both an occupant of the "Ecumenical Throne of Orthodoxy," and a "faithful interpreter of the liturgical experience of the Orthodox Church." According to Saint Gregory, God first created the spiritual world, then the material world, and finally the human world, which is formed out of the first two:

God first conceived the heavenly and angelic powers. And this conception was a work fulfilled by his Word and perfected by his Spirit . . . Then when his first creation was in good order, God conceived a second world, material and visible, composed of earth and heaven and all that is in the midst of them. There was not yet any mingling of both nor any mixtures of these opposites; not as yet were the whole riches of goodness made known. Then, the Creator-Word determined to produce a single living being out of both the visible and invisible creations, and so fashioned the human person. He took a body from already existing matter and placed in it a breath taken from himself which he knew to be an intelligent soul and the image of God. He placed the human person, as a sort of second world, great

Crisis and the Doctrine of Creation," *The Ecumenical Review* 27 (1975) 24-35; M. E. Brinkman, "The Christian Faith as Environmental Pollution?" *Exchange* 17 (1988) 36-47. For an opposing view see I.J. Khalil, "The Ecological Crisis: An Eastern Christian Perspective," *Saint Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 22 (1978) 193-211.

in littleness, on the earth, a new angel, a composite worshipper, a steward of the visible creation and an initiate of the mysteries of the invisible, king upon the earth but subject to the King above, earthly yet heavenly, temporal yet immortal, visible yet spiritual, half-way between greatness and lowliness. In him spirit and flesh are combined into one.²²

The human spirit does not pre-exist its body, neither is embodiment a consequence of sin. Man enters creation last, traversing the fullness of the sixth day, like the arrival of a cosmic king to his already well prepared palace.²³ The human person thus appears in the world as the crown of God's creative work, a *microcosm*²⁴ uniting within himself the worlds of spirit and matter.

The Vocation of Man in the World

Intimately connected with the composite nature of man is his calling to exercise a specific ministry, through his body, to the rest of creation. According to yet another Archbishop of Constantinople, it is precisely in man that nature arrives at both self-consciousness and knowledge of God; man is the tongue of an otherwise mute creation.²⁵ Similarly, Hieromonk Symeon Gregoriadis has written that is through man that:

The waters of hope irrigate the whole creation; through him

²²Gregory the Theologian, *Oration* 38.9-11; PG 36.320; *Or.* 18.3; PG 35.988 C. Similar anthropologies may be found in Athenagoras of Athens, *Περὶ ἀναστάσεως*, 15; PG 6.1004-05; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.*, 4.26; PG 8.1372-81; Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat.* 4.18; PG 33.477-80; Athanasios, *Κατὰ Ἑλλήνων*, 33; PG 25.65-68; Gregory of Nyssa, *Περὶ κατασκευῆς ἀνθρώπου* 29; PG 44.125-256; John Chrysostom, *Εἰς Γένεσιν*, 14; PG 54.581.630. On the human person as *methorios* cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.*, 2.18; PG 8.1016-40; Methodios of Olympus, *Συμπόσιον*, 3.7; PG 18.69-72; Gregory of Nyssa, *Κατὰ Εὐνομίου* 3; PG 45.571-616; *Ἐξηγήσεις δοματός τῶν ἀσμάτων* hom. 11; PG 44.1009A. Cf. Plotinos, *Ennead*, 4.4.3; 8.7.

²³Gregory the Theologian, *Oration* 44.4; PG 36.312A.

²⁴Gregory the Theologian, *Oration*, 28.22; PG 36.57A. On the history of this concept see G. P. Congar, *Theories of Macrocosms and Microcosms in the History of Philosophy* (New York, 1922); R. Allers, "Microcosmos from Anaximander to Paracelsus," *Traditio* 2 (1944) 319-407; C. Korvin-Krasinski, *Mikrokosmos und Makrokosmos in religionsgeschichtlicher Sicht* (Dusseldorf, 1960); for the same idea in Gregory of Nyssa see Paulus Mar Gregorius, *The Human Presence: An Orthodox View of Nature* (Geneva, 1978); and in Maximos the Confessor, L. Thunberg, *Microcosm and Mediator*. The Theological Anthropology of Maximus the Confessor (Lund, 1965).

²⁵Proklos of Constantinople, *Oration* 2; PG 65.693D.

the Heavens declare the glory of God; through him the full moon in the firmament offers a silent chant to God, through him the stars glorify the Lord; through him the waters and showers of rain, the dews, the crystals, all the flowers and trees, the birds and fish, all the animals of earth and of the sea, all creation visible and invisible venerates the Creator and gives him glory. Through prayer man renews and recolors in himself the whole world, throwing light forward in thousands of rays on the march of creation, bringing it back to the Creator with thanksgiving and love.²⁶

Emphasizing the responsibility and accountability of human beings in transforming the earth, Saint Basil masterfully recapitulates man's role in creation in a single paragraph:

This is the human being: Mind united with a fitting and useful body. This union was fashioned in our mother's wombs by the all-wise Artisan of the universe, and was brought to light from those dark inner chambers by the pangs of birth. This being has been appointed to rule over all things on earth, and before him all creation unfolds as an arena of virtue. For him, the law has been laid down to imitate the Creator in accordance with his powers, and to sketch out upon the earth the good order of heaven. When summoned, this being departs from the world to stand before the judgement seat of the God who first sent him forth. This being is accountable and will receive recompense for his life and conduct.²⁷

Saint Gregory the Theologian suggests that the human person as spirit in the world has the specific task of raising and returning the body (and by implication all of creation) back to its Creator: "God has (bound body and soul together) so that the soul may draw to itself and raise to heaven the lower nature, by gradually freeing it from its grossness, in order that the soul may be to the body what God is to the soul, itself leading on the matter which ministers to it, and uniting it, as its fellow-servant, to God."²⁸

²⁶Hieromonk Symeon Gregoriadis. *The Holy Mountain Today* (London, 1983), p. 19.

²⁷Basil, *Hom.* 21, *Περὶ τῶν μὴ προσηλωσθαι τοῖς βιωτικοῖς* 5; PG 31.

²⁸Gregory the Theologian, *Oration*, 2.17; PG 35.428.

Thus, it is not enough for the material world to become spiritual, but both matter and the spirit must become divine. It is no coincidence that these comments occur in Saint Gregory's treatise *On the Priesthood* and are made with specific reference to the *priestly* vocation of the human person in the transfiguration of creation.

Human beings, as His All Holiness notes, are called to offer the gifts of creation back to their Creator so that all of creation might be sanctified. Man, as the king and priest of creation, has been commanded to transform the earth into a cosmic temple in which to worship God, and until then nature trembles as it waits to be saved by man become holy.²⁹

Indeed, Adam was the first human priest, and the elements of the cosmos were given to him as the materials for his sacrament, this was his "great destiny." Adam was called to cultivate nature, to name with knowledge all beings, to humanize and divinize them.³⁰ His priestly offering was not the drudgery of manual labor but an organic continuation and development of the creative work of God. God gives man the world for food in a movement which is itself constitutive of both human life and communion with God. As the type of Christ, Adam was to unite and recapitulate creation within himself in a fundamental motion towards God.

The Failure and Fall of the First Adam

The first man rejected creation as communion with God and embraced mere appearances, isolation and death. Pridefully submerging himself in the sensible, Adam neither spiritually cultivated the field of the world, nor did he offer it to God. Adam "failed and fell" and because of him the earth became "cursed" (Gen 3.17), "becoming subject to futility" and now "groans and travails in all its parts" (Rom 8.20.22). When the first man fell from his cosmic place he deprived nature of its existential center and all creation lost its intended orientation towards God.³¹ Man abdicated his cosmic throne and handed over his now helpless kingdom to the demonic forces

²⁹P. Evdokimov. *The Art of the Icon* (Redondo Beach, 1990) p. 16.

³⁰These pre-lapsarian charisms are restored through asceticism and adorn many of the great Fathers. See A. Papadopoulos, *Theological Gnoseology According to the Neptic Fathers Analekta Vlatadon* 25 (Thessalonike, 1977) (in Greek); D. Tsamis, "The Knowledge of Beings," in his *The Perfection of Man According to Niketas Stethatos*. *Analekta Vlatadon* 11 (Thessalonike, 1971) pp. 102-04 (in Greek).

³¹Evdokimov, *The Icon*, p. 111.

of "death and decay."

Saint Symeon the New Theologian vividly describes the reaction of creation to the fallen Adam:

All creatures no longer wished to submit to him; the sun did not wish to shine for him, nor did the moon and the other stars wish to show themselves to him; the springs did not wish to gush forth water, nor the rivers to continue their course; the air thought no longer to blow so as not to allow Adam, the sinner, to breathe; the beasts and all the other animals on the earth, when they saw that he had been stripped of his glory, began to despise him, and all were ready to spring upon him. The heavens were about to fall upon him, and the earth did not wish to bear him any longer. But God, knowing before the creation of the world that Adam would fall, and having fore-ordained for him a new life and a new creation in holy baptism by virtue of the economy of the Incarnation of his only begotten Son, restrained all these creatures and commanded that creation should remain in submission to him, and having become corrupt, should serve corrupt man for whom it had been created, so that when man should again become spiritual, incorrupt and immortal, then also the whole creation might be delivered from this servitude and be renewed.³²

JESUS CHRIST, THE CHURCH AND THE NEW CREATION

The final words of the text just quoted speak of the "deliverance and renewal" of creation by the "economy of the Incarnation." Likewise, and in a passage of particular beauty and strength, the Patriarch teaches that the "great destiny of man was realized, after the failure and fall of the "first Adam," by the "last Adam," the Son and Logos of God incarnate, our Lord Jesus Christ, who united in his person the created world with the uncreated God, and who unceasingly refers creation to the Father as an eternal eucharistic anaphora and offering. The Church in each divine Liturgy continues this reference and offering (of creation to God) in the form of the bread and wine, which are elements taken from the material universe." Thus, this third and final section will consider the Church, the

³²Symeon the New Theologian, *Homily* 45.2, quoted in *The Sin of Adam and Our Redemption* (Platina, 1979), pp. 68-69.

Eucharist, and creation.

The Church and Creation

As has been seen, man rejected the priesthood which was the purpose and meaning of his life and so plunged the world into death. Only through the perfect man, the God-man, could the broken priesthood of humanity be healed and the original pattern of creation restored.³³

Above all, the place where man and creation are actually healed and transformed is the Church, especially by means of holy baptism, chrismation, and Eucharist. In fact, the entire liturgical life of the Church has developed on the principle that creation constitutes the means of our union with God.³⁴ According to tradition, the Church has its origins in the very act of creation;³⁵ paradise stands for the communion of God with man and is thus an icon of the whole creative and redemptive economy of God. The world is created with a view towards the Church, by the eucharistic and eschatological "Lamb who is slain from the foundation of the world" (Rev 13.8; Jam 1.18). This is the "great mystery of Christ and the church," (Eph 5.32) "hidden from the ages but now made manifest" (Col 1.26): "And the angel swore by him who lives for ever and ever, who created heaven and earth and what is in it, the earth and what is in it, and the sea and what is in it, that there should be no more delay . . . but that the

³³A. Schmemmann. "The World as Sacrament," in his *Church, World, Mission* (New York, 1979), p. 224.

³⁴P. Nellas. *Deification in Christ* (New York, 1987), p. 100. See also the works of A. Schmemmann *For the Life of the World* (New York, 1973); "Baptism and Eucharist," in *Of Water and the Spirit* (New York, 1974) pp. 115-21, and *The Eucharist* (New York, 1988). See also C. Yiannaras, "The Kingly, Priestly and Prophetic Ethos of the Eucharist," in his *The Freedom of Morality* (New York, 1984) pp. 89-107; G. Mantzaridis, "The Divine Liturgy and the World," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 26 (1981) 62-70, and the same author's "The Sacramental and Ecclesiological Nature of Deification," in his *The Deification of Man* (New York, 1984) pp. 41-60.

³⁵While notions of a heavenly or pre-existent *ekklesia* were popular with the Alexandrians, the more moderate patristic view sees Eden as a prophetic type of the Church, cf. Shepherd of Hermas, *Vis.*, 2.4.1; PG 2.895-900; Clement of Alexandria, *Προπαιδευτικός*, 9; PG 8.191-202; *Strom.*, 1.19; PG 8.805-13; 7.15; PG 9.524-28; Epiphanius of Salamis, *Anac.* GCS: 415.24; Cyril of Alexandria, *Ec.* *Ἰσαΐαν*, 5.5; PG 70.1344-1400; Maximus Confessor, *Mystagogia*, 2; PG 91. 669A; hence the fourth *makarismos* of Holy Friday, "Thy life-giving side, O Christ, flowing as a fountain from Eden, waters thy Church as a spiritual paradise, and branching out into the four rivers of the Gospels it refreshes the cosmos, making creation rejoice and teaching the nations to faithfully venerate your kingdom."

mystery of God, as he announced to his servants the prophets, should be fulfilled" (Rev 10.6).

Thus, cosmology has an ecclesiological and eschatological import; the origin, purpose and final end of creation can be grasped only in the church which announces and bears the total revelation of God as creator of "all things" restored by him in Christ. The intention of God's creative act is fully identical with the unity realized within time in the ecclesial communion by the Spirit in virtue of the Incarnate Word, crucified and risen, and of the event of Pentecost. Cosmic unity is the fulfillment of creation in the light of its *telos* in the Word, as he is given to be "the head over all things to the Church, which is his body, the fullness of him that fills all things" (Eph 1.22)³⁶

The ultimate value of creation as an epiphany of the divine was revealed uniquely and for all time when the Word of God clothed himself in human flesh. Creation is not simply a stage upon which salvation unfolds, but becomes the very medium and form of revelation, its qualitative presence here and now: "We have beheld his glory, as of the only Son from the Father" (Jn 1. 14; 1 Jn 1-4). The Word who has become flesh, precisely because he has become flesh, restores the original potentialities of creation, being himself the place and sign of the new creation: "If any man be in Christ he is a new creature; old things are passed away; behold all things are become new" (2 Cor 5.17).³⁷

The Eucharist and Creation

The world in its totality is called to enter into the Church: it is called to become what the Church already is, the body of Christ. The Church in turn is called to bless the elements of creation which, by the sanctifying power of the *epiklesis*, are purified, regenerated, and elevated to their primal dignity and destiny as transparent bearers of the Spirit. This is made especially clear in the eucharist.

"On the night that He Gave himself up for the life of the world," Jesus took bread and a cup of wine signifying his relationship with the earth and with the toil and longings of human beings. Having

³⁶N. Nissiotis, "The Church as a Sacramental Vision and the Challenge of Christian Witness," in *Church, Kingdom, World* WCC Faith and Order Paper no. 130, ed. G. Limouris (Geneva, 1986) 104-05, especially "*Ekklesia* with *ktisis*," 104-07. See also H. Griffith, "Eschatology begins with Creation," *The Westminster Theological Journal* 49 (1987) 387-96.

³⁷Nissiotis, "The Church," p. 106.

taken these gifts, "He gave thanks, blessed, and sanctified," thus extending the action of God and renewing the covenant with the created universe — a universe which can once again mediate a presence. "This is my body and blood," forever part of creation destined to die and yet rise like the sun ascending into heaven and now "invisibly present among us." The gaze, gestures, and words of Jesus are focused on those at the table and yet encompass the whole of time. The historical meal is pregnant with the future because it is offered by the Eternal One who is food and drink indeed (Jn 6.55). "My blood is shed for you and for many," and since then the Eucharist has been offered unceasingly.

In the eucharistic offering of bread and wine life again becomes a sacrificial movement to God. In this movement man no longer usurps and violates the world for his own pleasure but renounces the world, and himself, and gives all things back to God. More important, man does not give the world back to its Creator unchanged — he adds something to it. The eucharistic community does not offer wheat and grapes but bread and wine, that is, the fruits of the earth wondrously transformed by human technology. Neither do Orthodox Christians worship outdoors, but in temples whose very bricks, stones wood, and paint have been transfigured to reveal the depth of their inner beauty. The architect and the iconographer have discerned the mystic heart of creation and with their craft (*techne*) have empowered it to join the magnificent chant of the cosmic liturgy.

While some ecophilosophers see technology itself as inherently destructive of being,³⁸ Father D. Staniloae has seen it as the "seal of human sacrifice":

The seal on the Altar Bread is the seal of man's understanding and of his intelligent work onto creation, thereby humanizing it and giving it back to God. He actualizes the world's potentialities; he organizes the world so as to be able to make use of it as much as possible. Through this organization and actualization of the world he reveals its hidden and possible uses and beauties, the Divine Logos present in its actual and virtual matter.³⁹

³⁸These thinkers follow Martin Heidegger, cf. W. Lovitt (trans.), *The Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays* (San Francisco, 1977).

³⁹D. Staniloae, "The World as Gift and Sacrament of God's Love," *Sobornost*

In this way, the creative activity of God serves as a model for all human activity. Purified by ascetic discipline, the eucharistic man brings order to chaos, he gathers that which is scattered and binds up that which is broken, he gives form and beauty to the formless and misshapen, be it in agriculture, industry, science, politics, the fine arts, or economics. The daily bread he molds and kneads is the totality of human culture and civilization sealed with the sign of the Kingdom.

God's creative activity is consummated in the Sabbath rest. Similarly, authentic human creative activity begins and ends in the blessed Sabbath, the Lord's Day, the first day of the new creation. The eucharistic transformation is both the paradigm and consummation of the transformation of creation in which, through the power of the Spirit, the bread and wine not only symbolize the Body and Blood of Christ but are identified with them. "Then I saw a new heaven and a new earth; for the first heaven and the first earth had passed away. And I heard a loud voice from the throne saying, "Behold the dwelling of God is with men. He will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and he will wipe away every tear from their eyes, and death shall be no more, neither shall there be mourning nor crying nor pain any more, for the former things have passed away." And he who sat on the throne said, "Behold, I make all things new." (Rev 21. 1-5).

5.9 (1969) 669. See also his articles "La dynamique du monde dans l'église," in S. Agourides (ed.), *Procès-verbaux du Deuxième congrès*. (Athens, 1978) 346-60; "The Mystery of the Church," in G. Limouris (ed.), *Church, Kingdom, World* (Geneva, 1986) 50-57; see also O. Clement, *Transfigurer le temps* (Neuchâtel-Paris, 1959); L. Lebedev, "On the Spiritual Transfiguration of Creation in the Orthodox Liturgy," *The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate* 11 (1983) 69-77; J. Keenan, "The Importance of the Creation Motif in a Eucharistic Prayer," *Worship* 53 (1979) 341-56.

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quiet as philosophy; and 6) the monastic way of life as philosophy.

The Hellenistic-Christian Philosophical Tradition is an absolutely essential book for every serious student of the Hellenic tradition and of Orthodox Christianity but, as Dr. Stephen Salamone has declared in his Introduction (p. 4), it is a work "which focuses on the *essence* of Hellenism, offers Greek and Western scholars an unparalleled opportunity and a challenge — that is, to rethink both sides of the relationship between Eastern and Western interpretations of the Hellenic Tradition" (*Ibid.*) It is a book that demonstrates the historic relationship between philosophy and religion and the necessity for looking at Greek religion and spirituality in its own terms, culturally and linguistically. Cavarinos's *Hellenic-Christian Philosophical Tradition* helps us enormously to understand the similarities and the difference of a common heritage.

John E. Rexine
Colgate University

Faith & Wealth: A History of Early Christian Ideas on the Origin, Significance, and Use of Money. By Justo L. Gonzalez. San Francisco: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1990. Pp. 240. \$19.95.

The study of the patristic sources for the Church's social teaching is a field that is only gradually developing in the modern world. This volume on the Fathers and New Testament teaching on economics is a welcome contribution to the literature. The fact that it is written by an ecumenically sensitive scholar in a style and format that make easy reading should be a stimulus to wider understanding of the patristic teaching in this field.

The book is divided into four parts: the background in Greek, Roman, and Jewish institutions and cultures; the period before Constantine in the Scriptures and the first two centuries; the period from Constantine to Chrysostom and Augustine; and finally a retrospective. The retrospective gives not only the author's conclusions, but also his method of approach. He carefully documents the continuity of the patristic teaching with the New Testament material and influences from pre-Christian or non-Christian culture. He also points out differences of points of view within the Church and between Church teachers and the culture at large. In this, of course, he carefully

documents the role of the emerging structures of catholic orthodoxy and monasticism.

It is the thesis of the author that the Fathers are no less interested in the social mission of the Church than present-day Christians are called to be, but that this element of the patristic heritage has been of less interest to the patristic scholar than it was, for example, in the life and work of Chrysostom. Indeed, he carefully documents the interplay of the social teaching of leaders like Athanasios and their teaching on the Incarnation and the Trinity.

From this text and the patristic data it so skillfully summarizes, one can understand why these sources are so important today in places like Latin America, and why theologians, like the Cappadocians, are central in the work of some of the Liberation Theologians. The center of renewal, as the center of unity in Christ, is always the orthodox faith and its teachers through the centuries. This volume should help to broaden this understanding of our common ground in tradition.

Jeffrey Gros
National Council of Churches

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Reviews

Follow Me. By Bishop Augoustinos N. Kantiotes. Translation and Foreword by Asterios Gerostergios. Belmont, Massachusetts: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 1989. Pp. xxi + 406. Frontispiece + 56 Illustrations. Cloth, \$19.95.

Father Asterios Gerostergios of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese, author of *St. Photios the Great* (1980) and *Justinian the Great, The Emperor and Saint* (1982) and translator of Bishop Augoustinos' *Orthodox Homilies on the Divine Liturgy* (1986), has once again performed a labor of love, this time by translating into remarkably clear English a book by the Metropolitan of Florina, Greece that originally appeared in Greek in 1964 and was published by the Orthodox Missionary Brotherhood, "Ho Stavros" (The Cross), in Athens with a second edition dated 1970. *Follow Me* is a series of reflections that, in effect, tell us of Christ's life work, and teachings from his challenge to his disciples to "Follow Me" (Mt 4.19) to his crucifixion and resurrection. The book is arranged in three main sections entitled "The Call"; "Testing the Call"; and "Assurance of the Call." It is specifically addressed to the question of strengthening and developing Orthodox missions among the Greek people. The translator in his Foreword says "The present book is a study of the apostolic ministry. It is not a scholarly work, with copious references to the most up-to-date academic and scientific advances in the field of biblical exegesis. Rather, it is a first-hand account of what it means to share in the apostolic mission of the Church" (p. xv). Replete with biblical citations, the book reflects on the call of the disciples of Christ to the apostolic ministry and how such a call can be related to our daily lives. Two separated but connected calls are indicated: "Come to me all who labor and are heavy-laden and I will give you rest" and "Follow

me and I will give you rest." Father Gerostergios explains that the first call is to all those who are under the unbearable burden of sin and the second call is a call to action for certain qualified individuals to do missionary activity in the Church. Bishop Augoustinos believes that there is missionary work to be done at home, that every parish, every diocese, and every monastery should become a center for missionary work. Throughout the New Testament Christ offers the challenge: "If anyone desires to come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me" (Mt 16.24).

Bishop Augoustinos is concerned that in Greece with 30,000 churches and chapels, the number of churchgoers is only somewhere between one and two per cent, while the world's Christian population, which was 35% of the earth's population more than a half century ago is not even 20% now. In Greece only one in every forty thousand Orthodox homes assume missionary work in a country of nine million people, most of whom are Orthodox Christians, with seventy bishops, eight thousand priests, and four thousand monks and nuns. Bishop Augoustinos bemoans the lack of domestic as well as foreign missionary activity and writes fervently and enthusiastically in its promotion.

His Grace calls for a renewal of Christian effort and for a new apostolic spirit within the Church and purification and transformation of the faithful, including the clergy, that will lead to a spirit of brotherly love and cooperation among Gospel workers, missionary groups and brotherhoods with rediscovery of their mission to become a nation of missionaries. *Follow Me* is a book whose message is applicable not only to Greece but to every place in the world where there are concerned Christians.

John E. Rexine
Colgate University

On the Ascetical Life. By Saint Isaak of Nineveh. Translated from the Syriac with an Introduction by Mary Hansbury. Crestwood, New York: Saint Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1989. Pp. 116. Soft, \$5.95.

We know little about Saint Isaak's life but we do know that his monastic anthropology had a major impact on all of Byzantine spiritual literature. He was apparently a native of Beth Katraye on the Persian

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**Greeting
of His All Holiness the Ecumenical Patriarch
DIMITRIOS I
to the Pan-Orthodox Delegation to the Theological
Dialogue with the Roman Catholic Church**

DEARLY BELOVED BROTHERS REPRESENTING THE MOST-HOLY LOCAL autocephalous Orthodox Churches,

We greet you with genuine joy and much brotherly esteem, having come at our invitation to discuss, as the single family of Orthodoxy under God's protection, the particularly important and burning issue which, as such, was not able to evade the due circumspection expected of each of us.

First, I extend to all a warm welcome, and hope that your brief stay here will not only be pleasant, but also that God will render it fruitful in many ways.

Having vigilantly followed, along with the Holy Synod, the commendable efforts undertaken thus far by the Pan-Orthodox Delegation to the Theological Dialogue with the Roman Catholic Church, so that our Roman Catholic counterparts might understand how immense the problem of Uniatism and that of contiguous proselytism is for us, we nurtured the hope in God that the relevant discussions held within the framework of our official ecclesial Dialogue with Rome would have guaranteed the requisite basis of brotherly consent in finding a solution to this extremely thorny and complex problem.

This hope, nurtured by us all, had been revived even further after the common Statement reached at Freising-Munich, condemning Uniatism as a method totally incompatible with the most fundamental principles of the sound ecclesiology of the undivided Church, as they are unhesitatingly recognized today by both our Churches

engaged in the Dialogue of love and truth.

Moreover, such an optimistic perspective was totally justifiable, especially after the distinction — theologically accurate and indeed pastorally imperative — made between Uniatism as a *method* on the one hand, and the *people* as a result of Uniatism on the other.

Unfortunately, however, our honest hopes regarding this issue have not only not been filled, but on the contrary, they have led our Pan-Orthodox Delegation to the Theological Dialogue to a dreadful impasse due to the improper events which continue to take place in Western Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Roumania, Poland, Serbia, and other Eastern European countries, and which are denounced by the Orthodox primates of these countries with pain in their voice, desperation, and bitter complaint, because they had hoped that the fruits resulting from the Dialogue initiated more than ten years ago would have been different.

Certainly, the problem of Uniatism, in general — the historical and psychological complexity of which we by no means wish to overlook — would be a *prodigious pain* for us all even if we were not engaged in dialogue with Rome, because it is a question of an *ecclesiological anomaly* of the first degree.

Of course, it was natural for such an anomaly to influence not only negatively the relations between Christians, but also to expose all of Christianity in the eyes of the whole of humanity, so that indeed “the name of God is blasphemed unto all the nations on our account.” Who could ever imagine that “Perestroika,” which was received so jubilantly by all as a presupposition of the blessed socio-political developments which would benefit the peoples of Eastern Europe, would otherwise give rise to the possibility of bringing to light so much hatred and so much fanaticism — let us not say barbarism — in the relations between Orthodox and Roman Catholics of the Greek Rite?

Therefore, the problem of Uniatism, which — independently from the Dialogue — should be dealt with courage and effectively so as not to create further anomalies and injustices, becomes an even greater provocation when — despite the continuation of the Theological Dialogue and despite the vigorous steps we specifically have taken toward the Vatican — it continues to be bolstered in all its acrimony and not only does it poison the relations between Orthodox and Roman Catholics, but it also makes the collaboration among the Orthodox extremely arduous and problematic.

This is, therefore, the reason for calling this Pan-Orthodox Consultation which was anxiously requested of the Church of Constantinople by all the Orthodox representatives to the Dialogue. And the Church of Constantinople, bearing here too the coordinating responsibility of the Proto-throne Church, has called you, dear brothers, to assure you, in a more solemn manner, as to her vigilant concern with this issue and to remind you fraternally of the firm solidarity that must exist between us in a common obligation assumed publicly and freely as is the official Theological Dialogue with Rome. It is, of course, superfluous to say that such reciprocity of obligation must be expressed in unity as much among us, as before God and men, since we comprise the single and undivided Orthodoxy.

We must therefore decide in common as to how the Dialogue will progress further, because it is not just, nor is it right to give the impression of dissolution as has been the case during the last few years of the Dialogue by the refusal of practically half of the Orthodox representatives to attend.

Therefore, we hope and fervently pray that the Lord will enlighten you so that in oneness of mind and in oneness of soul you will come to a decision on this issue, a decision which not only will deal with the immediate problem of Uniatism, but also one which will be a trustee of the sanctity and the sublime goal of the Dialogue. May the Lord be with you all, my brothers. Amen.

Translated by Professor Evie Zachariades-Holmberg

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Reviews

Stanley Samuel Harakas, *Health and Medicine in the Eastern Orthodox Tradition* (New York: Crossroad Publishing Co., 1990). Pp. xvii + 190. Hardbound. \$19.95.

This important volume was issued in the Health/Medicine and the Faith Traditions Series published under the aegis of the Park Ridge Center for the study of health, faith, and ethics. The purpose of the series is to present comprehensible studies on major religious faiths of the world as they relate to questions of human well-being. The present book is a most welcome addition to the series and the first comprehensive work of its kind in Eastern or Greek Orthodoxy.

The book has a double purpose: first to help health care professionals (physicians, nurses, psychologists) of whatever religious persuasion, to understand how practicing Orthodox Christians relate their faith to matters of health and medicine so that they may be able to assist them with more empathy and sensitivity; second, to help Orthodox Christians understand more fully the relation of their faith to issues concerning their physical, spiritual, and psychological well-being. The author succeeds brilliantly on both counts.

Excellent conceptualized and rigorously executed the book brings together the mind and thought of many Orthodox fathers, theologians, physicians, ethicists, and psychologists who in one way or another have been concerned with one or more aspects of human life. Father Harakas provides us with a very valuable synthesis and a book which will remain the standard on the subject for many years to come. Written in a brisk and precise style, the book holds one's attention undiminished to the very end.

Divided into three interrelated parts, the book includes twelve chapters which treat the following major themes: illness and suffering,

caring and curing, physicians and priests, medicine and healing, rites of passage, bioethical issues and moral concerns and much more. One of the major strengths of the book is an illuminating exposition of Christian anthropology from a Greek Orthodox perspective.

In Greek anthropology the human being is a psychosomatic entity, an integral unity of body and soul, in matter and spirit or logos. The logos, the divine spark in the human is the inner content of the psyche. The soul is unfathomable, so deep is its logos, it reaches out into infinity (Herakleitos). For Greek Orthodoxy the spirit is more than reasoning, brain, and matter holier than sinful flesh. The spirit is the "image," the spark of Divinity in the human and the body of the human is the temple but the two compose "a living creature fashioned from visible and invisible natures" in the well known words of the Vespers for Saturday of those Fallen Asleep (*Psychosabbaton*). Father Harakas' wholistic approach, his concern with theology in a historical context, the treatment of theoretical aspects pointing to their pastoral applications make the book both fascinating and useful for professionals but also for every pastor and enlightened person.

For the non-Orthodox, but also for the Orthodox with a limited religious background, part one of the book provides an illuminating introduction to Eastern Orthodoxy, its history and tradition, its faith and experience, its ethos and sense of historical continuity. Father Harakas rightly emphasizes that the present is intimately related to the past which can serve as both evaluator and critic of the present. He makes one understand and appreciate the thought and wisdom of Church Fathers, services and hymns composed many centuries ago. While much of the past experiences may be irrelevant to the present, its accumulated wisdom is in many respects relevant and helpful. In fact I would go even further and acknowledge the therapeutic value of traditions and religious practices of the pre-Christian era. Some traditions of faith and worship, life and death were formulated long before the emergence of Christianity either within the Hebrew or the Greek thought-world and cultural environment. Some of the ancient Greek religiosity has been adopted by and consecrated within the Christian experience. It is because of this historical interrelationship between Christianity and its Greek cultural context that Orthodox Christianity formulated a more balanced and humanistic theology about fall and sin, restoration and salvation, time and eternity.

Sympathetic but not uncritical, personal views formulated on the basis of a broad and objective scholarship, deeply committed to his

Orthodoxy but respectful of other perceptions, praiseful of its strengths but also articulate of Orthodoxy's limitations in questions of current bioethical issues — these are some of the author's strengths.

The last chapter should be of particular interest to Orthodox Christians because it provides authoritative information on the Church's attitude toward some burning issues and vital questions such as thanatology, euthanasia, autopsy, donation of organs, cremation and more. The therapeutic nature of memorial services and the *makaria* meals is beautifully explained. In brief, Orthodox and non-Orthodox Christians, religious and non-religious professionals will find in the present book much food for thought and reflection. All will realize why notwithstanding its travails and persecutions, misinterpretations and martyrdoms, Orthodox Christianity is a religion of hope and optimism "immersed in resurrection faith."

Demetrios J. Constantelos

Richard Stockton College of New Jersey

The Ascetical Homilies of Saint Isaac the Syrian. Translated by the Holy Transfiguration Monastery. Boston: Holy Transfiguration Monastery, 1984. Pp. cxv + 570. Hardbound. \$46.00.

More and more we are happily updating translations of important works of the Christian Fathers that were not hitherto easily available to the English-speaking reader. It has been particularly unusual to have works from the Church of Persia, which, even during its brightest days, was very much isolated from the rest of Christianity. Particularly illuminating is the work of Saint Isaac, Bishop of Nineveh, about whom we know some things from Syriac sources. Shortly after his elevation to the episcopate, he abdicated this position to dwell in the mountain of Matout and lived in stillness with other anchorites. He was well versed in divine literature and wrote books on the divine discipline of solitude. It has been calculated that he wrote around 688 A. D. He was presumably around 75 years old at the time of the *Homilies*. The principle purpose of the *Homilies* is the instruction of those in the desert, that is, the book is aimed at monastics and the conduct of the monastic life, but both monastics and laity can gain from the instruction guidance for living the angelic life in stillness (hesychasm). The translators have overcome tremendous odds in put-

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**Hellenic College
Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology**

**CITATION FOR THE HONORARY DEGREE
DOCTOR OF DIVINITY**

**DIMITRIOS I, Archbishop of Constantinople,
New Rome and Ecumenical Patriarch.
Spiritual Leader of World Orthodoxy, Ecumenical Pastor and
Teacher of the Church Universal**

BORN AND EDUCATED IN CONSTANTINOPLE, HIS ALL HOLINESS THE ECUMENICAL Patriarch Dimitrios I received his theological degree from the Patriarchal School at Halki in 1937. Ordained Deacon in 1937 and Presbyter in 1942, he was elected Bishop of Elaia in 1964 and Metropolitan of Imvros and Tenedos in 1972. On July 16, 1972, he was elected Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome, and Ecumenical Patriarch. For eighteen consecutive years, he has been the spiritual leader of World Orthodoxy, leading and guiding the Church in the ways of faith and truth, concord and peace, agape and diakonia, as proclaimed by Jesus Christ the Lord and his Eastern Orthodox Church.

Since your election to the Ecumenical Throne, Your All Holiness, you have intensified your strong and enthusiastic support of paideia. The many professors, teachers, and pedagogues who have approached you have immediately experienced your warm patriarchal appreciation of their work, your commitment to the cause of an authentic Orthodox Christian education, and your full paternal blessings upon their noble but difficult task.

You have been a central figure in strengthening the bond of love, unity, and cooperation among the Orthodox Churches. Your historic 1987 visits to the Orthodox Patriarchates and Autocephalous Churches have been hailed as events of great importance for contemporary Orthodoxy. Through your presence, your evangelical meekness, love, faith, and your wise patriarchal counsel, you have conveyed to the churches which you have visited a renewed sense of Orthodox ethos, vision, and mission, while you have sharpened the awareness of the need for a Pan-Orthodox concord and unity.

You have also advanced the cause of Christian unity in a substantive way, a way of love which leads toward unity without sacrificing the truth entrusted to the Church by her Founder, a way of mutual understanding among the divided Christian Churches without abandoning the sacred Apostolic Tradition which has nourished the Church for twenty centuries. Through your historic theological message of August 1973 to the World Council of Churches, through your decision to form a Pan-Orthodox Commission for a dialogue with the Roman Catholic Church in December 1975, and through your visits to Rome and to Canterbury in 1987, you have affirmed the basic principles which should guide the task of Orthodoxy within the ecumenical endeavor. Your two homilies in the Basilicas of Santa Maria Maggiore and St. Peter on December 5 and 6, 1987, during your meeting with Pope John Paul II, are outstanding examples of what Orthodoxy can offer toward ecumenical rapprochement.

You have shown concern for the environment with the decision to lead the Orthodox Church in the issuance of a message of the integrity of creation and the designation of September 1, the first day of the ecclesiastical year, as an annual day of prayer of and thanksgiving for the great gift of creation and for the protection of the environment.

In recognition of these many achievements, your outstanding patriarchal diakonia to the mission, action, and witness of our Ecumenical Patriarchate; your decisive work in advancing Christian education and theological paideia; your leadership in promoting pan-Orthodox unity and cooperation, as well as your contribution to the cause of Christian unity and ecumenical understanding, we have, in deep reverence, asked you to give us the exceptional and unprecedented privilege of honoring you and of joining your venerable name with that of our sacred institution, Hellenic College and Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology TIMHΣ ENEKEN.

July 27, 1990

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Review Article: Vigen Guroian,
Incarnate Love: Essays in Orthodox Ethics

STANLEY S. HARAKAS

VIGEN GUROIAN'S BOOK, *INCARNATE LOVE: ESSAYS IN ORTHODOX ETHICS* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1988), raises some extremely important issues for the Orthodox today in regard to their relationship with the contemporary world in which they live. This book is a competent exposition of a particular approach to Orthodox ethics today. More importantly, it provokes some methodological and theological questions for the Orthodox Church as it seeks to define its place in North America.

The volume is a collection of essays which focus on the author's intended subject — theological ethics from an Orthodox Christian perspective, worked out consciously and specifically from within a North American context.

Incarnate Love is divided into three main sections, each with two or three chapters, for a total of seven chapters. Of these, five are previously published essays and two were specifically written for this book. Guroian presents his volume as an Orthodox ethic whose purpose it is "to awaken Orthodox to the social ethical problems facing their church in North America and to the possibilities for the church's American future," (p. 4). In spite of this, the majority of the chapters are directed to the community of scholars in the field of ethics in America, not directly to the leadership and membership of the Orthodox churches.

It should be noted before proceeding further, that though the book has an order and flow, from the general to the concrete, it is a book of *essays*. It does not present itself as a systematic treatment of

Orthodox ethics. This is a book of serious theology and serious ethics, but it ought not to be read as a book presenting a foundational theory of Orthodox ethics. Nevertheless, Guroian provokes his Orthodox readers to grapple with crucial foundational concepts. He forces his Orthodox readers to reflect critically on their place, viewpoints, calling and challenge — precisely as Orthodox Christians — in the North American reality.

The seven chapters of the book are divided into three parts. "Theanthropic Ethics," is the title of part one, which includes two essays. The initial chapter is an overview of the theology of the Orthodox Church and the ethical stance which flows from it. Taking into account the major Trinitarian, anthropological, and soteriological teachings of the Orthodox faith, it moves from the implications of these beliefs to a treatment of virtue, understood primarily as rooted in love and as union with God. The relationship of these with the kingdom of God then follows.

The second chapter, "Theanthropic Ethics," is a treatment of Christian love. Love is seen as rooted in the theological vision of Orthodox Christianity, not as a moralistic concept. Guroian's understanding of love is based on the central doctrines of the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation. As key ideas for understanding love he uses reciprocity and mutuality. The author affirms the essential inter-relatedness of *agape* and *eros* in Orthodox Christian ethics, in contrast to the theological ethics of some Western traditions. Guroian is expository in this section. He does not seek to engage Roman Catholic and Protestant ethicists in his reflections. The balance of the book serves to alter this focus, so that the non-Orthodox are in fact brought into conversation and engagement with Guroian's presentation of Orthodox ethics. It is important to note this when evaluating this volume, especially from the perspective of the methodology of Orthodox ethics.

The second part, "Liturgical Ethics," also includes two chapters, beginning with the intriguingly titled third chapter "Seeing Worship as Ethics." Here, the author uncovers the ability of the Church's worship to form believers morally in specific and concrete ways, both individually and corporately. He also discovers in the liturgical resources of Orthodoxy a prophetic function by which Orthodox Christians and others are confronted by their failures and sinfulness.

As an example, Guroian offers a liturgico-ethical treatment of marriage in chapter four, titled "An Ethic of Marriage and Family." In

this chapter the specific approach which characterizes Guroian's thought on issues of ethics comes to the fore. His understanding of ethics is consciously molded by an almost exclusive sacramental and eschatological framework. Ethics functions best in this approach as a method of heuristic critique and vision building.

The last part of the book, "Social Ethics" contains the final three chapters. They do not purport to address the issues of social ethics in a comprehensive way. Nevertheless, there is a clear focus, an articulation of a view which the author feels is a radical departure from the past. It is here that Guroian functions best as an exponent of a view in Orthodox ethics today, which emphasizes the critical a prophetic stance toward culture, society and nation. For Guroian, ethics is not primarily a method for providing detailed guidance to the faithful for day to day living; instead, it provides a critique of existing practice and mentality. Thus, ethics as prophetic critique is the dominant methodological approach throughout the volume. The adequacy of this approach is a core issue for Orthodox Christian ethical theory.

His views on involvement/uninvolvement by Orthodox Christians in the larger society are primarily expressed in the fifth chapter, "The Problem of a Social Ethic: Diaspora Reflections," and in the sixth chapter, "Orthodoxy and American Order: *Symphonia*, Civil Religion or What?" He proposes what he calls a "missiologial social ethic," which he admittedly recognizes as a challenge, rather than as an accepted or received viewpoint among the Orthodox. This ethical stance focuses, as one can see from the title of chapter six, on the Orthodox church-state relationship.

The last chapter is the only one of the seven chapters that is specifically addressed to the Orthodox. As an in-house document, it is reflective of Armenian history and experience in the U. S. A. Yet, the comments about the diaspora crisis situation among the Armenian Orthodox have their parallels in most of the Orthodox jurisdictions on the North American scene. Here he points to issues such as the perpetuation of ethnicity and the secularizing forces which have impacted on Orthodox communities. He offers suggestions for resisting secularization, in a manner thoroughly consistent with the views presented in section two.

Appreciative Evaluations

This is a good book for many reasons, which commend it to every

Orthodox theologian, clergyman, theological student, and well-grounded lay person. It deserves careful and attentive reading as a well-informed, competent, and well-articulated piece of theological writing. Its very existence is welcome in that it allows discussion to take place on Orthodox ethics. Orthodox theologians and church leaders should look forward to the day when additional studies in Orthodox ethics will follow, producing a "community of discourse," among the Orthodox on the theoretical and practical ethical questions which face us as a church in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

In addition, Guroian's book has made history. It is the first volume on Orthodox ethics to be published by a major non-Orthodox publishing house, the University of Notre Dame Press. This fact indicates a "coming of age" for Orthodox Christian ethics, in that a non-Orthodox publisher considered the topic not only worthy of attention, but was convinced that there was an adequate readership for it. That it is soon to come out in paperback form validates that judgment. Just a short time ago large academic publishers would not risk the publication of a book on Orthodox ethics.

Incarnate Love is a good book for inter-Orthodox purposes, as well. Guroian writes consciously as an Armenian Orthodox, that is, as a member of the Oriental Orthodox family of churches. But he also writes with the sense that he speaks for and to the Orthodox in general. Familiar as he is with both the Armenian and Byzantine traditions, his book realizes in practice the fruits of a long series of Byzantine Orthodox/Oriental Orthodox dialogues and is the outgrowth of the inclusion of both Eastern and Oriental Orthodox in consultations and discussions sponsored by the World Council of Churches. It is important to note that nothing foundationally theological in this volume separates Guroian as an Oriental Orthodox from his Eastern Orthodox co-workers.

One of the great strengths of this book is that in an authentically Orthodox way, the author avoids a sterile rationalistic approach to the questions of Orthodox theology and ethics. Though he does draw on doctrine for his ethical teachings, his sources are primarily located in the inner life of the Church, especially in its eucharistic and ecclesial dimensions. He knows that the Church lives its faith and outlook in its worship. Of particular interest for Eastern Orthodox Christians is the use of insightful and illuminating passages from the Armenian liturgical traditions; gems that illustrate important Orthodox

perspectives. Eastern Orthodox readers of this volume will be grateful for sharing these Armenian liturgical treasures.

Areas for Discussion

As noted above, with the exception of the last chapter, the volume is clearly oriented toward a non-Orthodox audience, effectively introducing the Orthodox perspective to them by means of literary and liturgical forms. This focus is constant with the book's mission sense, and in harmony with the best incarnational traditions of Orthodoxy.

Yet, it might be that this very process has caused him to re-work his message and material in a way that separates him from the tradition in a significant way. While seeking to make corrections to that tradition, he might be identifying too readily with certain parts of his non-Orthodox audience. The dependence of his thought on certain contemporary Protestant writers does seem to inspire prescriptive corrections for certain tendencies in the Orthodox ethical theory. The question is whether this dependence moves him to a one sided emphasis. I speak specifically about the strong influence on his writing of Stanley Hauerwas and John Howard Yoder. Their views move Guroian in the direction of an exclusively "detached/critical approach" in social ethics.

One could maintain that in a non-Orthodox environment, the only possible way for an ethicist to do his work is a direct engagement with the practicing ethicists of the day. Yet, it must be admitted that Orthodox ethicists in the English speaking world have hardly begun doing the work consciously and integrally as a discipline of theological reflection from within and for the Orthodox Church itself.

Surely Orthodox ethics ought not be studied exclusively from that perspective, just as the Fathers of the Church did not do so in their writings. But a case can be made that what is needed at this time is the development of an Orthodox perspective on ethics in general and in its specifics which draws primarily on the whole history and experience of the Orthodox Church. In this perspective, the Orthodox Church needs to understand its present status in the light of its history as a whole. Consequently, it must do its work consciously out of its own traditions and theological panoply. Otherwise, Orthodox ethics will be inordinately subject to the influences wrought by other people's debates, problems and issues.

Guroian's acceptance of Hauerwas as a major source for his ethical

task leads him to adopt a strongly focused virtue ethic. In doing so, he has focused, as has Hauerwas, on a necessary corrective to western activist, deed-oriented understandings of ethics in the Protestant mainline tradition. In addition, he has also tapped one very important aspect of Orthodox ethics: Guroian's focus on virtue is essentially a "character ethic." As such, it is an essential aspect of Orthodox Ethics.

The problem with this focus in Guroian's work, however, is that it becomes an almost exclusive understanding for the living of the Christian life. It functions in a manner that makes the Christian thoroughly separate from his cultural context. The impression is created that the focus on character ethics leads Guroian toward a sectarian position.

The influence of John Howard Yoder, who is rooted in the Anabaptist pacifist tradition, is quite present in the next steps of Guroian's treatment of Orthodox ethics. The one remaining contact with cultural surroundings becomes almost exclusively one of criticism. This too, is an element of the Orthodox vision as it has expressed itself throughout history. In particular, it is found in the ascetic traditions of anchorite monasticism. Other aspects of the tradition, such as cenobitic monasticism, and the liturgical/eucharistic traditions do so, but not so sharply.

At work in Guroian's book is an appropriate effort to lift up this essentially discontinuous aspect of the Church's identity to a more prominent place in contemporary Orthodox thinking. It is an attack on too easy accommodation to an increasingly secular environment. This message is not only necessary at this time and in this place, but it is also essential to a balanced and inclusive Orthodox perspective. The message is important.

The problem with it is that the corrective is being applied in a too heavy handed way. There appears to be an almost exclusive advocacy on behalf of the critical stance of ethics. The real issue is whether it is the only message and the only focus which ought to characterize an Orthodox social ethic as it seeks to find a way to relate to the North American environment.

A Case in Social Ethics

One of the foils Guroian uses in his book to develop his social ethic is an article of mine which seeks to present and analyze the

traditional Orthodox concept of "symphonia" in church-state relationships, and to adapt it to an admittedly different and even contrary system of church-state relationships in the United States today. The article "Orthodox Church-State Theory and American Democracy," served his purposes well. His analysis placed the article in the company of those Protestants and Roman Catholics on the American scene who have — in his view — adopted a "neo-Constantinian approach" to church-state relations. He sees this stance as causing "the surrender of their evangelical witness . . . compounded by a long history of compromise and accommodation . . ." (p. 148). Among those so accused are Washington Gladden, Walter Rauschenbusch, Josiah Strong, John Richard Neuhaus, and John Courtney Murray. In the following passage Guroian develops this idea.

Under the American arrangement of separation and under the influence of a pervasive secularism, which by its very nature dismisses the reality of God's active presence in this world, those who rule worry not — certainly not in any conscientious public way — how they stand before God, though, as yet, most do not hesitate to use God's name to sanctify their own politics or the self-interest of the nation. The churches accept this utilitarian definition of their nature and purpose. In America the parade of church leaders is unceasing who, seeking to influence the actors in the worldly exercise of dominion, assume for themselves the mind set of those who rule by the sword rather than by the power of the Cross.

The assessment embodies so sharply in the position outlined above needs careful attention in order to see it for itself and in relationship to an Orthodox Christian social ethic. This can be accomplished by examining Guroian's positive suggestions. Guroian invites the Orthodox to adopt what he calls a "missiological social ethic."

By this, he means that social ethics should utilize the mission models of proclamation and example. The first, a proclamatory tradition, is to speak the Word as a condemnation of sin and as the proclamation of the good news of salvation to those "outside" (the non-believer, culture, the state, etc.). This approach to missions keeps the proclaimer essentially distinct from the object of these ministrations. The exemplary tradition, does missionary work only by being an example for others, without overt missionary activity.

It is correct that these approaches are found the Orthodox tradition of missions. The first has sometimes succeeded, but nearly always

it has done so on individualistic bases, having failed in converting peoples together with their cultures. Its colonialist mentality has provoked a sharp reaction today in the third world. Even though colonialism is primarily a western Christian phenomenon, Orthodox mission history has some sordid examples of colonialism, as well.

The exemplary model has also been present in Orthodox mission history. For much of Orthodox history, it was a necessity forced upon it by circumstances. Its passive character has sometimes also succeeded — for example, in the early stages of the Church's expansion across the vast frontiers of the growing Russian nation.

But mainline Orthodox mission theory has not been characterized by these approaches. Instead, there has been a nation and culture building dimension to Orthodox mission theory and practice. James Stamoolis' *Eastern Orthodox Mission Theology Today* is a valuable resource for understanding this incarnational Orthodox approach to missions. It is useful to rehearse some of these ancient Orthodox missiological perspectives: the preaching of the message of salvation in the language of the receiving people; the translation of the Scriptures and the Divine Liturgy into the language of the people very rapidly; the adoption of local traditions and customs wherever these did not conflict with core Christian teaching; and the rapid indigenization of the clergy; the fostering of the idea of Orthodox Christian nationhood.

Did this mean compromise and capitulation to the cultural environment? Not from the Orthodox perspective. It was seen, as an expression of Orthodox Christianity's incarnational approach to missions meant a close relationship of the Church with culture, and effort to penetrate it and re-form it into a vehicle of Christian values. While the incarnational missionary approach was capable of prophetic critique, it did not rest there. The Church also understood its mission as requiring it to work for the transfiguring of culture and society.

This model of mission may well have been, and many would hold, still is, the most authentic and appropriate model for Orthodox social ethics. Yet, it too, is not the whole picture. Unfortunately, the critique of my article on church-state relations in this book, analyzed it as if it were a complete theology of the Church's social ethic. This is not the case. More on the level of "tactics" the paper sought to apply the mainline and central incarnational Orthodox tradition in a positive way to the American democratic situation.

Certain implications are made of this perspective which are

unjustified. Attribution of subservience to the reigning secular values is just inaccurate and gratuitous. This must be said for myself, but also for the others mentioned in the chapter.

There is another point to be made in this context. For Western scholars to subscribe to a Gibbonesque understanding of church-state relations and church-culture relationships in Byzantium might be understandable, if not excusable. But it is hardly acceptable for Orthodox writers to perpetuate charges of Caesaropapism in Byzantine church-state, church-culture relations. Scholarship in Byzantine history has long ago moved beyond such simple analysis. I would refer the reader to J. M. Hussey's *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*, and in particular, to her treatment of "The Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Emperor" (Part 2, 2) for an explication of the modern historical view of church-state relations in Byzantium. It shows both a critical stance as well as a cooperative stance on the part of the Church in its relationship with the State. This perspective informs much of the thinking in my "Church-State and Democracy" article.

Most telling, is Guroian's assumption of an either/or approach. The position espoused bears a dominantly sectarian character. The outreach dimension of Christianity, which involves the Church in the less than perfect aspects of the social, cultural and political realities, is effectively rejected as a legitimate Christian concern. This view fails to see that in the pastoral, missiological and social ethics spheres, that the Church ought to involve itself in outreach. It thus deals with people and circumstances as they are empirically. In such circumstances, the Church has historically been motivated to move the less perfect realities — as much as is possible for them to be moved — into the sphere of the light and radiance of the kingdom. This has meant in practice, affirming a half-loaf of bread, rather than a whole and perfect cake, with the expectation that the grace of the Holy Spirit will take up the task of perfection in a process of growth.

Of course, there *are* discontinuities between the Church and that which is not church. Sometimes, (and in certain situations, oftentimes) it is necessary to assume a stance of prophetic criticism. It is an important and necessary reminder of this which Guroian provides. But because this book tends to do so uninfluenced by other equally important and necessary dimensions of the relationship of the Church to the world, it collapses into what amounts to an almost self-enclosed understanding of the social role of the Orthodox Church.

It is content with a prophetic condemnation of the evils in society, together with providing a distinctive, yet essentially discontinuous example by Christians for the rest of the world. As articulated, it encourages a passive, uninvolved stance in the concrete and empirical issues and problems faced by the North American society today.

Guroian however does not articulate his position so that it becomes as strongly confrontational as do some other Orthodox thinkers on these matters. One of these is Fr. Michael Azkoul in his important study "The Greek Fathers and Paideia." Nevertheless, the effect of this book is to foster nearly the same antagonism to culture. It is indicated by the repeated use of an "antinomy" image throughout these chapters to characterize the relationship of the Church and culture. After the fashion of some of Fr. Georges Florovsky's treatment of the subject in the book *Christianity and Culture*, Guroian gives a one-sided account of the problem. It is well-known that while Florovsky's treatment of the culture-faith problem in the Byzantine Church was strong on analysis, it was without guidance for the church of today. This was so because, in typological fashion, the discontinuous aspects of monastic life were made into an exclusive world-denying type, while the historical realities of the monastic tradition which included many culture-affirming values were hardly mentioned. One striking example of the culture-affirming dimensions of Byzantine monasticism was the development of the institution of the hospital by Orthodox monastics. This remarkable fact has been thoroughly documented by Timothy Miller in his book, *The Origin of the Hospital in Byzantium*. It is another vivid example of the wider perspectives of Orthodox Christianity. It shows how the incarnational aspects of the Orthodox faith have historically been expressed.

Yet, the sectarian mind-set is particularly welcome in some corners of the Orthodox theological world today. Some theologians and ecclesiastics would like to absolutize this retreat into a self-enclosed liturgical and eucharistic understanding of Orthodox Christianity. For many reasons the Orthodox have forgotten the Church's history of concerned Christian involvement in the world's needs and problems. Paradoxically, for this volume, the danger as Orthodox in the United States has not been an over-involvement in addressing the world's problems from an Orthodox perspective, but the opposite. It seems as if Guroian's prescriptions could (will?) lead to more of the same introverted and unconcerned self-contemplation and triumphalistic self-satisfaction, even though such a development is clearly neither desired

nor intended by this book.

Toward a Whole Social Ethic

A Comprehensive Orthodox social ethic must recognize the truth that its approach must be multi-faceted. This understanding certainly will cultivate and demand what Guroian has called a virtue ethic on the personal level.

In addition, a balanced Orthodox approach to social ethics will acknowledge that the evil in the world must be criticized and condemned. There will always be aspects of any society to which the Church must consistently offer a prophetic "No!" and a separatist "Stop!" The lines between the sinful "world" and that which is Christian must be drawn. There is plenty of warrant in Scriptures and the Tradition to make that an imperative. But an apocalyptic "Gog and Magog" confrontation with the evil does not exhaust the Church's mission. It is only one side of a multi-sided equation.

Just as important, the Church must engage in the battle against social evil, motivated and informed by its vision of the Kingdom. One way of struggling against evil and for the good, is for the Church to incarnate itself into societies, so as to transform them — as much as they are capable — into societies which embody some Kingdom values.

In the end, the major criticism of this book is not that it fails in taking steps to develop an Orthodox Christian social ethic; it does not complete the task.

A Concluding Word

Thus, every Eastern Orthodox Christian who reads Guroian's *Incarnate Love* will be grateful to him for his important reminder and prophetic caution regarding compromise with the world and its ways. It is an important work for the discipline of Orthodox ethics.

But, it must also be remembered that this is only one of several dimensions of the Orthodox Christian ethic. The other aspects ought not to be obscured, especially the Church's incarnational mission to the world. Guroian's emphasis while valid, needs to be included in a larger and more inclusive perspective.

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John Chrysostom's Use of Scripture in Initiatory Preaching

PAMELA JACKSON

ONE OF THE INTRIGUING ASPECTS OF STUDYING PATRISTIC INITIATORY preaching is the discovery of how a given Father's homilies are so similar to, and yet, simultaneously, so different from, those of his contemporaries. Each preacher had the same task: preparing his hearers to live the Christian life they were about to enter into at paschal baptism, and each had the same source-book to accomplish it: the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures. Yet since each pastor had his own understanding of his main purpose in this task of enabling conversion, as well as his own personal homiletic gifts to accomplish this task, each shows a characteristic method of making use of Scriptural material in initiatory preaching. The purpose of this essay is to examine John Chrysostom's technique of using Scripture in his initiatory homilies, considering how it was shaped by his understanding of his purpose as catechetical preacher as well as by his unique rhetorical gifts, which contributes to the distinctive character of his homilies within the genre of initiatory preaching.

Chrysostom's Initiatory Preaching: The Sources

The initiatory catecheses of Chrysostom which have come down to us were delivered not by Chrysostom as bishop, but during his years as presbyter at Antioch (386-98), where aging bishop Flavian had appointed him to assist in the extensive task of preaching.¹

¹A. Wenger (ed.), *Jean Chrysostome: Huit Catéchèses Baptismales Inédites* (SC 50; Paris, 1957), pp. 59-63. For biography of Chrysostom see C. Baur, *John Chrysostom and His Time*, trans. M. Gonzaga (2 vols., Vol. 1: Antioch, Vol. 2: Constantinople; Westminster, MD., 1959, 1960).

While twelve of his catechetical instructions survive, they do not belong to a single series, but were preached during different years.²

A set of eight of these catecheses was discovered by Antoine Wenger in the Stavroniketa monastery on Mount Athos in 1955. They are comprised of lectures given: ten days after the beginning of Lent (St 1); shortly before Easter (St 2); immediately after baptism (St 3); Easter Sunday or Monday (St 4); Easter Tuesday through Friday (St 5-8).³ While these catecheses could have been delivered during any year 389-98, their relationship to Chrysostom's other works suggests 390 as probable date.⁴

The third lecture in the Stavroniketa manuscript had been known already to Saint Augustine, but had been available in the West only in Latin translation as *Sermo ad Neophytos* until 1909. That year it was published by Byzantine scholar A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus as the final lecture of a set of four baptismal instructions he discovered in the manuscript *Codex Graecus 215* in the synodal library at Moscow.⁵ The lectures in this Papadopoulos-Kerameus series were delivered: ten days after the beginning of Lent (PK 1), twenty days after the beginning of Lent (PK 2), Holy Thursday (PK 3), and immediately after baptism (PK 4 = St 3 = *Sermo ad Neophytos*).⁶ In the course of his *Homilies on Genesis*⁷ Chrysostom twice men-

²All twelve may be found in English translation with extensive notes in P. Harkins (ed.) *Saint John Chrysostom: Baptismal Instructions* (ACW 31: Westminster, Md., 1963); all citations in English in this essay are to this edition. Hereafter, the Stavroniketa series will be cited as St, the Papadopoulos-Kerameus series as PK, and the Montfaucon series as Mf.

³Wenger, pp. 7-15, 36-48.

⁴The Stavroniketa series contains more than thirty parallels with the *Homilies on Genesis* (PG 53), given 388-89, however, it could not have been delivered the same year because Chrysostom refers in the Genesis homilies to a separate set of post-baptismal instructions on Acts (*In Principium Actorum* 1-4, PG 51. 65-112). The Stavroniketa series was thus probably delivered in one of the years immediately following; Harkins suggests that since it shows some sixty parallels with the commentary on Matthew (PG 57-58), which Baur assigns to the year 390 (Vol. 1 p. 289), it is reasonable to date the series around 390. This putative date is accepted by both T. Finn (*The Liturgy of Baptism in the Baptismal Instructions of Saint John Chrysostom*. SQA 15; Washington, D.C., 1967, p. 8, and H. Riley (*Christian Initiation: A Comparative Study of the Interpretation of the Baptismal Liturgy in the Mystagogical Writings of Cyril of Jerusalem, John Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia and Ambrose of Milan*. SQA 17; Washington, D. C., 1974), p. 14.

⁵Wenger, pp. 26-35; Harkins, pp. 10-12.

⁶Wenger, pp. 26-30; Harkins, pp. 10-12.

⁷Note that these sixty-seven homilies are not the same as the nine (actually eight,

tions that he has given catechetical instruction. At the beginning of Hom. 12, he states that he interrupted his commentary to preach against those who fast with the Jews and to instruct the catechumens;⁸ Wenger suggests that this instruction is PK 1.⁹ At the beginning of Hom. 33, Chrysostom says that he has been interrupted by the Paschal celebrations, during which he preached on Judas' betrayal, on the Cross, on the Resurrection, and then took up the proofs of the Resurrection, the miracles of Acts, preaching to the neophytes every day;¹⁰ Wenger believes Chrysostom is referring here to the four homilies *In Principium Actorum* (together with a fifth no longer extant),¹¹ of which the first and third conclude with instruction to the neophytes.¹² Wenger thus proposes that the homilies *In Principium Actorum* constitute the equivalent for the PK series of homilies 4-8 in the St series,¹³ and that therefore the PK series was given in the same year as the *Homilies on Genesis* which he assigns, following Baur, to 388.¹⁴

The first lecture in the PK series corresponds, with some variations, to the first of two catechetical sermons by Chrysostom which had been published by Montfaucon as *Ad illuminandos catechesis prima et altera*.¹⁵ Montfaucon's second catechesis, however, although it, like PK 2, was given twenty days after the beginning of Lent, is an entirely different work. Since internal evidence links Mf 1 (= PK 1) and PK 2, Mf 2 is considered to be part of a third series of which the other lectures have been lost.¹⁶

the ninth belonging in fact to the series *De Mutatione Nominum*) *Sermons on Genesis* (PG 54. 581-620), which Wenger assigns, on stylistic grounds, to 386, p. 63.

⁸PG 53, 98.

⁹Wenger, pp. 64-65. *Hom. in 1 Gen.* Would have been preached on the eve of Lent, 2-11 on the first ten days, followed by PK I, given thirty days before Easter.

¹⁰PG 53.305. M-L. Guillaumin identifies these sermons as PG 49.381-92; PG 49. 407-18; PG 50.433-42) in "Bible et Liturgie chez Chrysostome," *Jean Chrysostome et Augustin*, ed. C. Kannengiesser (TH 35; Paris, 1975), pp. 167-68.

¹¹PG 51.65-112. Hereafter *In Principium Actorum* will be cited as IPA. From Chrysostom's account of the subject matter of the five homilies it is apparent that the missing one was given between IPA 1 and 2; see IPA 3.2.

¹²Wenger, p. 65.

¹³Harkins considers this "far from impossible," p. 18.

¹⁴Wenger, pp. 64-65; Baur, 1, p. 235. For Guillaumin's reasons for dating PK and IPA in 389, see "Bible," p. 167.

¹⁵Wenger, pp. 24-26; Harkins, pp. 9-10.

¹⁶Wenger, pp. 29-30; Harkins, pp. 9-12.

The dates of Chrysostom's surviving baptismal catecheses may be summarized as follows:

PK 1 (Mf 1)	10 days after Lent began	388
PK 2	20 days after Lent began	388
PK 3	Holy Thursday	388
PK 4 (St 3 =		
<i>Sermo ad Neophytos</i>	Immediately after baptism	388
IPA 1	Easter Monday	388
IPA 2	Easter Wednesday	388
IPA 3	Easter Thursday	388
IPA 4	Easter Friday	388
St 1	10 days after Lent began	390
St 2	Shortly before Easter	390
St 4	Easter Sunday or Monday	390
St 5	Easter Tuesday	390
St 6	Easter Wednesday	390
St 7	Easter Thursday	390
St 8	Easter Friday	390
Mf 2	20 days after Lent began	(391-8) ¹⁷

Chrysostom's Understanding of Scripture as Source for Initiatory Catechesis

The examination of Chrysostom's use of Scripture in initiatory preaching must of course begin with what Chrysostom himself says in his baptismal homilies concerning his understanding of Scripture, and of what he is trying to accomplish through his use of it in catechesis. While Chrysostom's initiatory homilies contain little explicit discussion of Scripture as *the* authoritative source of knowledge, they make it clear that he simply took this for granted.¹⁸ In Mf, 2, 5,

¹⁷While both Finn and Riley give the date of Mf 2 as 390(?), they both consider it to be part of a third series and not a lost lecture of the St series, Finn, p.6, Riley, p. 12. Since Mf treats much of the same material as St 1 (the true adornment of women, *versus* omens, etc.), it does not seem to have been given as part of the St series; therefore it was probably delivered between 391-98.

¹⁸See IPA 4, 7. For discussion of Chrysostom's understanding of Scripture in general and exegesis, see: F. H. Chase, *Chrysostom, A Study in the History of Biblical Interpretation* (Cambridge, 1887); R. Hill, "St. John Chrysostom's Teaching on Inspiration in 'Six Homilies on Isaiah,'" VC 22 (1968) 19-37; R. G. Tanner,

for example, he remarks, "We define the noun ἄνθρωπος, not as the pagan philosophers do, but as Holy Scripture commands us." Similarly, it is Scripture to which Chrysostom turns for definitive information on the human story (PK 3,28), relationship to God, and moral behavior (PK 1, 31-32);¹⁹ he refers to the words of Christ as "the King's law (PK 1,39)."²⁰ Even the titles of the books of Scripture are important because they were written by the Holy Spirit (IPA 1,3).²¹

Chrysostom's belief in the importance and power of Scripture as source for catechesis is even more apparent in his metaphorical depictions, of it, as when he refers to Scripture as a banquet of spiritual nourishment which sustains the faithful (St 8, 1). He describes his preaching as leaping and bounding together with his flock in the spiritual and holy meadow, the paradise of Scripture. In fact, the reading of Scripture is a paradise better than the first paradise: it is planted in the souls of the faithful, covers the entire universe, and has no serpent or wild beast; Scripture contains the river of living water, which branches into the infinite number of gifts of the Spirit, a river which delivers souls from the heat of passion and temptation (IPA 3,1). Those who drink unceasingly from the Spirit-filled currents of Scripture will be unconquered by all of life's difficulties: illnesses, insults, outrage, abuse, mockery, indifference, and all the evils of the world (IPA 3,2).²²

*Chrysostom's Understanding of His Purpose in Catechetical Preaching
and Its Effect on His Use of Scripture*

Chrysostom explicitey names the hearing of and obedience to the

"Chrysostom's Exegesis of Romans," SP 17, 3 (1982) 1185-97; B. Vandenberghe, *Saint Jean Chrysostome et la Parole de Dieu* (Paris, 1961). For Chrysostom's understanding of the continuing nature of revelation in the proclamation of the Word, see Hill, pp. 31,33.

¹⁹Chrysostom believes there is no reason to seek to know what Scripture does not say; see *Six Homilies on Isaiah*, 6, 1, cited in Hill, p. 32.

²⁰For Chrysostom's understanding of Scripture as Word of God, see Hill, p. 26.

²¹For Chrysostom's belief that every single word of Scripture is important because it is inspired, see PG 49.375, discussed in Chase, p. 48; cf. pp. 92ff.

²²For further citations concerning the power of Scripture from Chrysostom's other works, see L. Meyer, *Saint Jean Chrysostome: Maître de Perfection Chrétienne* (Paris, 1933), pp. 299-302. For Chrysostom's understanding of Scripture as saving truth, see Hill, p. 35.

Word as the foundation he seeks to establish in his catechesis: "Everyone," Christ says, 'who hears these words and acts upon them, shall be likened to a wise man who built his house on rock.' Let us lay foundations which are safe until the King will be near (PK 2,17)." Yet there is more than one way of founding preaching on Scripture of effect conversion, as can be seen through comparison to the fourth-century catechist from whom we have the greatest number of extant initiatory homilies, Cyril of Jerusalem. While Cyril (who is much more explicit concerning Scripture as the foundation for his catechetical homilies) understands his primary goal in initiatory preaching to be deepening the conviction of his hearers that what Scripture says about Christ as Savior is true, and that it applies to them in a personal way,²³ Chrysostom more often describes his main purpose in Scripture-based catechesis as changing behavior.²⁴

For I do not speak only that you may hear, but that you may remember what I said and give me proof of it by your deeds;²⁵ rather, you must give proof to God, who knows your secret thoughts. This is why my discourse is called a catechesis, so that even when I am not here, my words may echo in your minds (Mf, 2, 1).

Thus, Chrysostom asserts he will speak at length concerning a sin he considers particularly serious, "because I wish to tear this habit out by its roots, which are deep, and to wipe out this evil which has long endured (PK 1,38)." In order for his preaching to eradicate sin, Chrysostom believes he must not only demonstrate how serious a sin is, but also instruct his hearers on how they can be free from it (PK 1, 42), which he does at length. To help his listeners succeed in turning from sinful behavior, Chrysostom begins by singling out one particular sin and avowing that he will speak only on this subject until his hearers stop committing it, even as teachers only give their students new lessons when they have mastered the old ones (PK 1,37). Chrysostom also believes his proclamation of the Word to change behavior includes

²³For a fully-documented treatment of Cyril of Jerusalem's use of Scripture in initiatory preaching, see P. Jackson, *The Holy Spirit in the Catechesis and Mystagogy of Cyril of Jerusalem, Ambrose, and John Chrysostom* (diss., Yale, 1987), pp. 18-55.

²⁴Cf., however, St, 1,20 and PK,3,15.

²⁵Cf. St,1,8-9, and St, 4, 16. For similar citations from Chrysostom's other works, see Meyer, p. 299, Vandenberghe, p. 21.

not only putting an end to sin, but also providing exact knowledge of how to seek the things of God above all else (St, 8,9); even after his hearers are baptized, he describes the goal of his teaching as moral transformation (St 4,4).

In addition to such straightforward accounts of his purpose in (Scripture-rooted) catechesis, Chrysostom also depicts his task with a variety of metaphors. At the conclusion of a first lecture, he affirms: "We shall be very eager to give you your next instructions, knowing that the words we speak are falling into well-disposed ears, and that we are sowing these seeds on rich and fertile soil (St 1,47);" he begins a second lecture,

Do not be surprised if after only ten days I have come to ask for the fruits of the seeds which I have sown. For it is possible on a single day both to sow the seed and to reap the harvest, since we are summoned to the harvest relying not on our own strength but relying on the power which is ours thanks to the help of God. Let all who received my words and fulfilled them in deeds keep straining forward (Mf 2,2).

In another second lecture he portrays himself as the sower of the parable, concluding that it is impossible that there is no one in his large audience who can show the fruit of the teaching he has given (PK 2,4).²⁶

Chrysostom also describes his proclamation of the Word as preparing the catechumens who are like a doorless and deserted inn inhabited by demons, to become a royal palace which will be a fit dwelling-place for God (PK 2,16).²⁷ In addition, he understands his catechetical task as that of physician (St 6, 17),²⁸ as wrestling coach, training his catechumens for victory in their struggle with Satan (PK 1,28-9), and as provider of nourishment (St 8,1).

Chrysostom believes that his proclamation of the Word to effect transformation in his hearers' lives is enhanced by their immersing

²⁶Cf. St 6,2-3; St 8,3.

²⁷Cf. PK 1,10.

²⁸Cf. PK 2,17.

themselves in Scripture apart from the two-hour catechetical gatherings.²⁹ He urges all his audience, if they want to receive lasting benefit from Scripture, to go over the passages they have heard in Church at home, and thus converse with God.³⁰ Citing Ps 1.1-3, he develops at length the comparison of those who meditate on God's Word with a tree planted beside a stream. As the tree absorbs the life-giving water all day and all night (not just two hours at a time), and thus has rich foliage and is laden with fruit, so Chrysostom's hearers must drink unceasingly — as if from roots — of the Word; since Scripture is like spiritual clouds, or rain, it is more effective when absorbed slowly over a long period of time, so Chrysostom teaches it little by little, so that its words will penetrate deeply and be remembered (IPA 3,2). In addition to the reading of Scripture at home, Chrysostom exhorts his hearers to chant Scripture to purify their minds (St 1,33).³¹ After providing a few examples of how the catechumens should use Scripture to refute heresy, he advises them to avoid heretics until they are able to silence them "after you have fortified yourselves well with the weapons of the Spirit, the testimony of Holy Writ (St 1,24)."³²

Chrysostom's depictions (explicit and metaphoric) of his method of using Scripture in catechesis may be summarized, then, as employing the Word to effect conversion to the new God-centered life which baptism into Christ entails. This understanding of his purpose affects the way he makes use of Scriptural material, as again can be seen by comparison to fellow catechist Cyril of Jerusalem. Cyril's goal to deepen his hearers' conviction that Christ is indeed redeeming Lord leads him to give a prominent place to the demonstration of Christ as fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy and type. While he of course makes use of scriptural imagery and moral precepts, above all he draws on scriptural narratives of how God has acted to save; in these narratives he finds witnesses (persons, places and things) whom

²⁹For numerous citations from Chrysostom's other works where he urges the study of Scripture at home, see Meyer, pp. 309-12.

³⁰Even if those reading at home have no one to explain Scripture to them they will draw great advantage, IPA 3,2; cf. St 8,9 and Chase, p.61. As Chrysostom remarks elsewhere, "I do not understand the Apostle by reason of any intellectual ability or acuteness of my own, but because I continually keep his company and love him much," cited by Chase, p.150.

³¹See Harkins n.49, pp.210-11.

³²Cf. IPA 4,7. Scripture also protects against Satan, IPA 3,1.

he summons rhetorically to convince his hearers of the truth of the Gospel and deepen their experiential knowledge of it.³³

Chrysostom, in contrast, because of his characteristic emphasis on moral transformation, tends to draw less heavily on scriptural narrative. Where Cyril recounts passages of Scripture at length, providing detailed explanations, Chrysostom rarely (St 1,26-30; 7 20-27) offers a verse-by-verse explanation of a section of several verses. Most often he cites isolated verses as authoritative confirmation for a point he has made,³⁴ sometimes clarifying the verse clause-by-clause. In addition to serving as basis for exhortation, the direct quotations interspersed throughout his catecheses may also function as the next logical step in the development of his line of thought, especially when they supply the answer to a question he has posed to advance his argument.³⁵

Since Chrysostom's emphasis in catechesis is not so much to prove the Lordship of Jesus by demonstrating him to be the fulfillment of prophecy as to call forth discipleship to that Lordship, he does not draw as heavily as Cyril does on Old Testament foreshadowings of Christ.³⁶ However, he does cite Isaiah and David as prophesying concerning Christ (PK 2,14), and David as foreseeing the Church's being clothed in Christ (PK 3,7-8);³⁷ like Cyril, he refers to Christ as speaking Old Testament prophecy (Mf 2,14). He also portrays the Psalmist as prophesying concerning the Church (PK 1,23-26). Where Cyril presented Old Testament prophecy as proof ((ἀπόδειξις) of the Resurrection, Chrysostom finds that ἀπόδειξις in the miracles recorded in Acts (IPA 4,6,7).³⁸

Chrysostom explicitly names only one τύπος of Christ, the Paschal

³³See Jackson, pp. 19-55.

³⁴E.g., St,8,11.

³⁵In St 4,12,22,26, he repeats a single Scripture verse almost as a refrain connecting various aspects of his argument.

³⁶For discussion of Chrysostom's understanding of the relationship between Old and New Testaments, see Chase, pp.41-55. J. Guillet cites instances where Chrysostom demonstrates the continuity of God's work in both Testaments in "Les Exégèses d' Alexandrie et d' Antioche: Conflit ou Malentendu," *RechSR* 34 (1947) 257-302. See further, Hill, p.36.

³⁷In IPA IV,9 Chrysostom tells his hearers that God wants them to see the fulfillment of the Old Testament prophecies (concerning the Jews), and thus know his power and mercy, and glorify him.

³⁸Like Cyril, Chrysostom uses ἀπόδειξις for Scripture verses which confirm what he is saying, IPA 4,5.

lamb (St 3,13-14).³⁹ He does, however, refer to Christ as the new Moses (St 3,26), and allude to Aaron in a way which suggests he considers him a type of Christ as high priest (PK 2,2);⁴⁰ in addition, he makes use of the Patristic commonplace relating the Church, born from the side of Christ, to Eve, formed from the side of Adam (St 3,17). Since Chrysostom's principal goal in catechesis is not to prove the Gospel by means of correspondences between the two Testaments, unlike Cyril he does not draw on typological argument to demonstrate the truth of Christ's claims; he does, however, make use of comparison to demonstrate the superiority of the New Covenant to the Old (PK 2,2).⁴¹

For the most part, however, Chrysostom's use of Scripture in catechesis is not focussed on the recounting of prophecies and types of Christ, but is aimed at pulling his hearers personally into the redeemed life described and promised by Scripture. To accomplish this goal he employs various techniques common in patristic preaching of Scripture; in addition, having been thoroughly trained in the rhetorical style known as Second Sophistic,⁴² he makes use of many of its characteristic techniques in his proclamation of the Word to effect conversion.⁴³

³⁹For Chrysostom's understanding of *τύπος* in other works, see: his separate homily on 1 Cor.10:1, anonymous French translation in *La Vie Spirituelle* 84 (1951) 302; *De Paenitentia* 6,4 (PG 49.320); *In Ps.* 9.4 (PG 55.126-27). See further Guillet, p.279; Chase, pp.55-58, 61, 70, 76.

⁴⁰In the same passage, Chrysostom also refers to the stone tablets of the Law, and the Temple veil and sacrificial lamb in a way suggesting he understands them as typologically related to Christ.

⁴¹Cf. Chrysostom's creative juxtaposition of the two covenants in St,3,16, and PK,1,2.

⁴²See George A. Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric and Its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times* (Chapel Hill, 1980), concerning rhetorical training in the classical world.

⁴³In addition to making use of the techniques of Second Sophistic which can be applied directly to the presentation of Scripture, Chrysostom was also a recognized master of the entire spectrum of sophistic techniques; cf. J. Pelikan (ed.), "Introduction," *The Preaching of Chrysostom. Homilies on the Sermon on the Mount* (Philadelphia, 1967), p. 27. Most scholars (e.g., Vandenberghe, p. 15) agree that he used the rules of rhetoric without thinking and without artifice; cf. M. Burns, *Saint John Chrysostom's Homilies on the Statues: A Study of their Rhetorical Qualities and Form* (Washington, D.C., 1930), p.21.

Chrysostom's style is clearly oral; his sermons are intended to be heard, not read. While the rhetorical characteristics of Chrysostom's initiatory homilies have not been analyzed, there are three studies of other works: T. Ameringer, *The Stylistic*

Chrysostom's Use of Rhetorical Devices

Even more than Cyril, Chrysostom actively seeks to arouse emotion in his hearers, as his vivid language makes clear (e.g., St 2,21-22). A favorite device of Chrysostom's for stirring the emotions and wills of those he seeks to convert is the rhetorical question;⁴⁵ Chrysostom scatters these questions throughout his presentation of imagery and exhortation almost like punctuation. Sometimes he uses a question to introduce a verse from Scripture, to underscore it (e.g., St 3,14), or to recall briefly what he has just said and ensure that his listeners appreciate its full significance on an affective as well as intellectual level (e.g., St 3,19).⁴⁶ In other instances Chrysostom poses short and rapid questions to stimulate his hearers and recall their attention (e.g., St 6,11); sometimes he fires off several questions in sequence, adding

Influence of the Second Sophistic on the Panegyric Sermons of St. John Chrysostom, A Study in Greek Rhetoric (Washington, D.C., 1921); W. Maat, *A Rhetorical Study of St. John Chrysostom's De Sacerdotio* (Washington, D.C., 1944); and Burns. Together, these monographs document Chrysostom's usage of figures of sound (e.g., alliteration), and parallelism (such as the Gorgianic figures), which must be observed in Greek, as well as what Burns and Maat refer to as figures of: redundancy, repetition, dramatic vivacity, argumentation, "minor figures developed in the spirit of Second Sophistic," metaphor, comparison and *ekphrasis*.

Out of this extensive repertoire of devices, of those which may be applied to the substance of Scriptural texts (and which, therefore survive translation), Ameringer et al. find Chrysostom using most frequently several figures discussed in this essay: rhetorical question, *prosopopoeia*, *ekphrasis*, comparison, metaphor and antithesis, as well as *epidiorthosis*, *prokatalipsis*, *dialektikon*, and *autonomasia*. For discussion of Chrysostom's use of figures of Second Sophistic which are not prominent in his initiatory catecheses, see P. J. Ryan, "Chrysostom, A Derived Stylist?" VC 36 (1982), and Jackson, pp. 169-71.

For comparison of Chrysostom's use of sophistic figures to that of Basil, Gregory the Theologian, and Gregory of Nyssa, see Burns, p. 121, Ameringer, p. 102; cf. H. Hubbell, "Chrysostom and Rhetoric," *Classical Philology* 19 (1924), 275-76. For further discussion of the context in which Chrysostom preached and the effect of Second Sophistic on Christian preaching, see R. Wilken, *John Chrysostom and the Jews: Rhetoric and Reality in the Late Fourth Century* (Berkeley, 1983), Ch.1.4, especially p. 101.

⁴⁴For further examples of Chrysostom's use of vivid language, see the analysis of his use of imagery, below.

⁴⁵For discussion of how Chrysostom employs rhetorical question in other works, see Burns, p. 40, Maat, pp. 33-38.

⁴⁶The sophistic figure known as *dialektikon* occurs when the speaker asks a question and immediately answers it. It is a marked feature of the *Baptismal Homilies*, where Chrysostom uses it to keep his lectures moving by continually reaching out to his listeners and engaging them. For his use of it in other works, see Burns, pp. 50-51, 120; Maat, pp. 43-45.

both liveliness and emphasis to the point he is making (e.g., St 8,10).

Chrysostom uses rhetorical questions both to evoke the sense of personal involvement inherent in a dialogue ("Was not Paul correct . . .?" St 1,13; "Do you wish to know the power inherent in this blood?" St 3,13; "... Do you have a wife?," PK 1,42) and to foster awe and gratitude in his listeners which will move them to change their lives, e.g.:

... Did you see his ineffable kindness? Did you see his bountiful care? (St 1,8) ... Did you see the magnitude of his gifts? (St 1,17) ... Who is so hard of heart and unyielding that he will turn a deaf ear to so kindly a call? (St 1,28) ... Did you see how each day the Master works a new creation? (St 4,15). ... What could be more blessed than a man who is deemed worthy of constant association with the Master? (St 7,25) ... Could there be anything more loving and kind than this? He seeks only qualities that lie within our control. . . (Mf 2,31)⁴⁷

The very spontaneity⁴⁸ with which such questions overflow from Chrysostom's reflections on the Word and engulf his audience makes their affective impact even more compelling.

In addition to thus proclaiming the Word with emotion-rousing language and rhetorical question to draw his listeners into transformed lives, Chrysostom also encourages them to look to positive and negative models from Scripture as guides in their process of conversion. Like Cyril, he cites Simon Magus, who enjoyed grace but was deprived of its gift because of his unworthy purpose, as an example of behavior to avoid (St 5,21-22; cf. IPA 1,5).⁴⁹ David's sin is a warning to Chrysostom's hearers, and makes it clear they should imitate "only the good deeds of the holy ones (PK 1,41);" Herod's oath is a paradigm

⁴⁷For further examples of Chrysostom's use of the rhetorical question to stir emotion, see PK 3,9 and St 4,25, cited below; he also uses the device to elicit healthy guilt and fear, e.g., St 1,43.

⁴⁸PK 2,3,18; 3,23. According to Ryan, this quality of spontaneity marks Chrysostom off from contemporary secular orators, p.11.

⁴⁹Wenger's theory that the homilies of IPA are the equivalent of St 4,8 is strengthened by the fact that IPA 1 and St 5 contain similar sections urging the newly-baptized to imitate Paul and warning them against the danger of being like Simon Magus.

proving the evils of swearing (PK 2,21ff).⁵⁰ On the positive side, Chrysostom asserts that God did not call Abraham for his sake only nor to demonstrate the strength of his faith, but so that Christians could emulate him (St 8,8). Chrysostom exhorts his listeners to imitate the conduct of the Apostles, for the *τύπος* of the apostolate is *agape* (IPA 2,3, cf.6); while he also urges them to imitate Peter in helping those in need (IPA 2,5), his favorite example is Paul (St 4,7-11; IPA 1,5; cf. Mf 2,38).⁵¹

Like Cyril, Chrysostom makes use of scriptural models to show not only how God's people should conduct themselves, but also how God will act toward them. Since God gave Adam, who turned out to be ungrateful, the blessings of paradise, if Chrysostom's converts guard the gifts God has already given them and are grateful for those they will receive in baptism, "what great munificence will you win from Him for having guarded His gifts so well (St 2,8)?"⁵² Further, those who follow the examples given in Scripture will receive the same rewards (St 4,31); if the newly-baptized imitate Paul's faith and fervor, God will give them richer graces (St 4,11; cf. Mf 2,8) and they will merit the name "neophyte" for their entire lives (St 5,18-20).⁵³

Sometimes Chrysostom addresses his Scriptural examples as if they were present, asking further explanation of how to live a life obedient to God. Citing 1 Corinthians 4.16 he asks, "And how, blessed Paul, were you an imitator of Christ? How? (IPA 4,4; cf. St 8,10)."⁵⁴ Often he urges his hearers to listen to characters from Scripture; he exhorts them to hear David describe the horrible nature of sin (PK 2,17)⁵⁵ and to hear the prophet who counselled them previously (PK 1,33).⁵⁶ Chrysostom uses this device not only to introduce citations of Scripture but also to give them immediacy, e.g.: "We must repent and keep away from our former sins and in this way approach to grace.

⁵⁰Cf. St 5,16-17.

⁵¹See also Mf 2,39, St 8,20-21, IPA 2,4. For further reflection on Chrysostom's use of Scriptural figures as models and examples from other works, including those given during the same years as the *Baptismal Homilies* (Jackson, p. 173), see Meyer, pp. 316-24.

⁵²Chrysostom also uses *qal we homer* connecting Old Testament typology to his listeners very powerfully in his teaching on the sacraments, e.g., St 3,15. For more extensive examples of his application of Old Testament types to his hearers, see *Homiliae in epistolam 1 ad Corinthios* 23,3-5 (re: 1 Cor 10), and his separate homily on 1 Cor 10 (see above, n.39).

⁵³Cf. St 7,31, IPA 2,6, St 1,10.

⁵⁴Cf. IPA 4,4, PK 2,13.

Hear what John the Baptist says and what the prince of the apostles says to those who are about to receive baptism . . . (Mf 2,22).''⁵⁷ While Chrysostom does urge his audience to listen to Christ (PK 3,33; IPA 2,4), he most often exhorts them to listen to Paul (St 4,16; 5,6; PK 1,17; 2,8; 3,27).⁵⁸

Although Chrysostom does not build his catechesis on the presentation of scriptural witnesses testifying to the truth as Cyril does, he does often refer to figures from Scripture as if they were present and speaking to his flock.⁵⁹ David "leads their understanding upwards (PK 3,8);"⁶⁰ and John the Baptist instructs them (PK 3,13). Paul demonstrates to them how the Church is a bride:

Do you wish me to show you the very vision of the bride flashing forth with irresistible beauty, surrounded by a large throng of angels and archangels? Let us take the hand of Paul, who leads the bride to her Bridegroom; he will be able to cut through the throng and lead us to her side. What then does Paul say? (PK 3,9)⁶¹

God explains, in Chrysostom's words, how He responds to the Fall (St 2,4-5), but Chrysostom's highest eloquence is attained when Christ speaks, avowing, "Even if I must be spat upon, even if I must be struck, even if I must mount the very cross, I shall not beg off from being crucified, so that I may take my bride (PK 3,4)."⁶²

Similarly, Chrysostom underlines the point that in seeking salvation through baptism his candidates are becoming part of the history of salvation to which Scripture bears witness by addressing the words of Scripture to them directly (e.g., St 1,6-9).⁶³ He also identifies his

⁵⁵Cf. St 8,9.

⁵⁶This introduces an admonition from Proverbs; cf. PK 2,14.

⁵⁷This introduces a paraphrase of Lk 3,8, and Acts 3,38.

⁵⁸Cf. St 8,3,23.

⁵⁹*Prosopopoeia* is the term for the device of the rhetors whereby real or imaginary figures speak. For use of *prosopopoeia* in Chrysostom's other works, see Burns, p.50, Maat, pp.42-45.

⁶⁰The psalmist also speaks in Mf 2,3, and in St 1,26, where he is referred to as "the prophet."

⁶¹Citation of Eph 5,25-6 follows. Paul also speaks in St 8,11.

⁶²Cf. St 1,27; St 8,23.

⁶³See also St 1,10; PK 1,2; PK 3,30; IPA 5.

hearers with their scriptural forebears and addresses them as if they were part of the stories of Scripture. He identifies them with Adam and Eve when he explains that through their baptismal nakedness God "reminds you of your former nakedness, when you were in Paradise and you were not ashamed (PK 3, 28; cf. IPA 1, 3)." At a final prebaptismal lecture he urges them to kindle their lamps and be prepared to meet the Bridegroom who is about to come to them in the middle of the night (PK 3, 1).⁶⁴ Immediately after baptism he warns them that it may not be repeated, concluding,

I exhort you, let us not become too careless. You came forth from Egypt. Never again seek Egypt or the evils of Egypt. Never think of the mud and the brickmaking. The things of the present life are mud and brickmaking, since gold itself, before it is converted into gold, is nothing more than earth (St 3, 23).⁶⁵

The Distinctive Mark of Chrysostom's Use of Scripture in Initiatory Preaching

By far Chrysostom's most powerful way of drawing his listeners into the transformed life they can see in their scriptural forebears—the hallmark of his initiatory preaching—is his use of Scripture-based imagery. Even more than his rhetorical use of dialogue with scriptural figures, Chrysostom's development of scriptural images to paint pictures of the redeemed life so glorious as to be irresistible works to pull the hearers into that life. While in one instance Chrysostom reels off a string of titles for God the Father (St 1, 20),⁶⁶ for the most

⁶⁴Cf. IPA 4, 1-2.

⁶⁵In PK 1, 3, after Chrysostom has portrayed himself as Joseph and his listeners as Pharaoh's cupbearer, he adds, "Remember me, then, when you come into that kingdom, when you receive the royal robe, when you are clothed with the purple which has been dipped in the Master's blood, when you put on your heads the diadem whose luster leaps forth on every side with a brightness which rivals the rays of the sun." See also PK 3, 20.

⁶⁶This is followed by a series of doctrinal attributes of the Son. Chrysostom also provides a series of five scriptural titles of baptism, PK 1, 2. In addition he makes use of *autonomasia* (A figure dear to sophistic rhetors), the reference to a person or object by one of its achievements or qualities. In the *Baptismal Homilies* Chrysostom commonly refers to God as Workman, to Jesus as Bridegroom or Master, to David as the Prophet, to Paul as the blessed Teacher of the whole world. For discussion of *autonomasia* in Chrysostom's other works, see Burns, pp. 59-61; Maat, pp. 52-54.

part his use of imagery is comprised of more extended imaging of the Christian life in the form of pure description (*ekphrasis*,⁶⁷ comparison,⁶⁸ metaphor,⁶⁹ or antithesis,⁷⁰ sprinkled alternately with Scripture citations and exhortations at carefully-paced intervals throughout his instruction.⁷¹ In Chrysostom's masterful development of images his sophistic training is clearly apparent.

Chrysostom depicts sin as a burden,⁷² and a foul stench (St 6,22; cf. PK 2,17-18) and provides a particularly vivid description of what it means to crucify the flesh (St 4,28), but most often he develops scriptural images into glowing portraits of the baptized Christian. He explains how the baptized are citizens of a new and heavenly kingdom (St 7,12ff.,23); they receive the trophies of a conquering King (PK 2,5-7) and should approach his throne with ambitious requests since he will grant all they ask (St 2,29).⁷³ They are in fact a temple where God

⁶⁷*Ekphrasis*, a device developed by sophistic rhetors, was a vivid word-painting in which every detail of the subject was meticulously described in an attempt to make it true to life (Burns, p. 106); Chrysostom had a high degree of prized *enargeia*, the gift for making things seem real (Vandenberghe, p. 18). For his use of *ekphrasis* in other works, see Burns, pp. 118-21, Ameringer, pp. 100-01. Compared to the examples cited by Ameringer, Burns and Maat, Chrysostom's use of *ekphrasis* in the *Baptismal Homilies* is even more restrained and Scripture-based.

⁶⁸Ameringer criticizes Chrysostom's use of comparison as overly influenced by Second Sophistic, and thus flawed in several ways (pp. 69-85, 101), but none of these flaws appear in the *Baptismal Homilies*. For Burns's conclusions concerning comparison and metaphor considered together, see n.69.

⁶⁹For Ameringer's discussion and critique of Chrysostom's use of metaphor, see pp. 56-59, 63, 67, 81, 91. Burns' findings contrast sharply. While (on the basis of length, quality, highly developed nature and ornateness of his use of comparison and metaphor) she does believe Chrysostom's use may be termed sophistic (p. 121), she finds that he does not sacrifice his subject for display, but uses figurative language as a means to a serious end (pp. 119, 121). The use of metaphor in the *Baptismal Homilies* resembles that described by Burns; there are no lengthy metaphors on profane themes, and never does Chrysostom lose sight of what he is trying to illustrate.

⁷⁰Burns comments that Chrysostom, like the Sophists, had a strong liking for antithesis (the contrast of ideas) which he employed to add emphasis to his message (pp. 74-80). Maat finds antithesis even more frequently in *De Sacerdotio*, where it is used not only to emphasize but also to clarify Christian truth, p. 68. In the *Baptismal Homilies* most of the antitheses contrast the old life of evil which is doomed and the new life of faith, virtue and salvation in Christ.

⁷¹See Chrysostom's comment on his homiletic method in *De obscuritate prophetarum* (PG 56.165), cited in Ameringer, p.78; cf. Burns, p. 117, Maat, p. 81.

⁷²See also St 1,28.

⁷³Similarly, PK 3,31. Christians also enjoy the benefits of the royal table (St 2,27; 4,6) and receive crowns (Mf 2,61).

dwells (PK 3, 34; cf. St 2,27).⁷⁴ Chrysostom greets the newly-baptized:

Blessed the God! Behold there are stars here on earth too, and they shine forth more brilliantly than those of heaven! There are stars on earth because of Him who came from heaven and was seen on earth. Not only are these stars of earth, but — a second marvel — they are stars in the full light of day. And the daytime stars shine more brilliantly than those which shine at night. For the night stars hide themselves away before the rising sun, but when the Sun of Justice shines, these stars of day gleam forth still more brightly. Did you ever see stars which shine in the light of the sun? Yes, the night stars disappear with the end of time; these daytime stars shine forth more brightly with the coming of the consummation. It was of the night stars that the Gospel says: "The stars will fall from heaven, as the leaf falleth from the vine;" and of the day stars: "The just will shine forth like the sun in the kingdom of their Father. "... Among the stars in our midst there is no evening star; all of them are stars of morning (St 3,1-2,4).⁷⁵

The contemporary popularity of athletic and military images also contributes to Chrysostom's portrayal of his hearers.⁷⁶ He explains at length how his athletes of Christ (St 2,23; cf. PK 3,27) are in training for contest with the devil where angels join human spectators and Christ is Judge (St 3,8ff.; cf. St 2,22; PK 1,28-29; Mf 2,33-35). Similarly, the initiates have enlisted as soldiers of Christ (St 1,1,18;

⁷⁴They are also vessels, PK 1,22; cf. St 3,4. Chrysostom also images his hearers as the spiritual crop of the Church (St 4,1), as a flock (St 1,2; 3,26), and reflects on the meaning of their taking on the yoke of Christ (St 1,26-33; cf. PK 1,4); he explains how Christ has become all things for them: table, clothing, house, head, root, food, brother, Bridegroom, Father, and the Body of which they are members (Mf 2,13-14). Chrysostom images the newly-baptized as lions (St,3,12) and as those invited to a spiritual banquet (St 4,6).

⁷⁵Other references to the baptized as stars are found in St 7,23; PK 2,30; IPA 1,5.

⁷⁶J. Sawhill has remarked that the Scriptural characters Chrysostom uses as role models gain new force in the athletic roles he gives them. J. Sawhill, *The Use of Athletic Metaphors in the Biblical Homilies of John Chrysostom* (Princeton, 1928), p. 111. In the *Baptismal Homilies* extended athletic metaphors are reserved for those being initiated.

4,6; 5,26; Mf 2,61) in his spiritual army (St 1,20; 2,1); where they are led by the King of heaven in spiritual battle (Mf 2,30-32) and will raise the trophies of their rout of the devil (Mf 2,61); they are clad in shining armor (St 5,27) and equipped with powerful spiritual weapons for combat (St 2,1; 3,11; 5,27; Mf 2,60).⁷⁷

Chrysostom's frequent use of such imagery of striving is balanced by his equal predilection for nuptial imagery,⁷⁸ as evidenced by most of the first eighteen paragraphs of St 1, e.g.:

Come, then, let me talk to you as I would speak to a bride about to be led into the holy nuptial chamber. Let me give you, too, a glimpse of the Bridegroom's exceeding wealth and of the ineffable kindness which He shows to His bride. Let me point out to her the sordid past from which she is escaping and the glorious future she is about to enjoy. And if you wish, let us first strip from her her garb and see the condition in which she is. Despite her plight, the Bridegroom still allows her to come to him. This clearly shows us the boundless kindness of our common Master. He does not have her come to Him as His bride because He has longed for her comeliness, or her beauty, or the bloom of her body. On the contrary, the bride he has brought into the nuptial chamber is deformed and ugly, thoroughly and shamefully sordid, and, practically, wallowing in the very mire of her sins (St 1,3).

Whereas human bridegrooms, even if they are much richer than their brides, still share the same nature,

in the case of Christ and the Church the marvel is that, being God and possessed of that blessed and undefiled nature — and you know how great is the distance between God and men — He deigned to come to our nature. He put aside His Father's home in heaven and, not by passing from one place to another

⁷⁷See also Chrysostom's fascinating comparison of the tongue to a sword, PK 1,34.

⁷⁸Chrysostom makes it clear in St 1,1 that there is no contradiction here, since Paul also describes the Christian life both as marriage and military service.

but according to a plan whereby He took to himself a body,
He has hastened to His bride (PK 3,3).

As human bridegrooms, Christ comes at night (PK 3,1), and leads his bride to a seven-day feast (St 6,24-25), so cleansed as to be radiant: "Did you see the bride's body bright and shining? Did you see her beauty which flashes forth beyond the rays of the sun (PK 3,10)?"⁷⁹

Sometimes Chrysostom's use of the nuptial metaphor leads him to the image he uses most frequently, that of the royal robe (St 2,19,25; 4,12; PK 1,3), that "greatest of garments (Mf 2,13)" Christians receive at baptism:

He came to her who was about to become His bride and found her naked and disgracing herself. He threw around her a clean robe, whose brightness and glory no word or mind will be able to describe. How shall I say it? He has thrown Himself around us as a garment: "For all of you who have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ (PK 3,6-7; cf. St 2,11; St 4,4)."

Chrysostom is fond of stressing the brightness the baptized receive in putting on Christ, so that "wherever they go they are like angels on earth, rivaling the brightness of the rays of the sun (St 2,27)."⁸⁰

Chrysostom often brings his scriptural images into sharp focus by his use of another characteristic device of sophistic rhetoric: antithesis; what begins as a lyric description suddenly turns into a pointed comparison between the life the initiates must leave behind and the new life bestowed through baptism, between earthly good and heavenly good, between mortal rulers and the King of Heaven. Chrysostom graphically illustrates the difference between: humanity's contract with the devil and the covenant given in Christ (St 3,20-22); true and false wealth (Mf 2,44); seeing with eyes of flesh and eyes of faith (PK 3,12); the advantages of serving earthly masters and serving God (St 7,26).⁸¹ Most of Chrysostom's images discussed above are used at

⁷⁹Chrysostom's most extensive use of nuptial imagery is found in St 1,1-18 and PK 3,1-10, though he also makes use of it in PK 1,4 and 3,23,27; concerning the marriage dowry, see St 1,16 and PK 3,26.

⁸⁰Cf. PK 1,22; Mf 2,10 and n.89, below.

⁸¹Cf. St 1,20; 2,2; 5,23; Mf 2,30.

some point in antitheses. For example, Chrysostom details many aspects of the contrast between earthly bridegrooms and Christ (St 1,1-18; PK 3,1-10), culminating in the affirmation, "Surely no bridegroom lays down his life for his bride. For no one, no lover, even if he be violently mad, is so inflamed with his loved one as is God in His desire for the salvation of our souls (PK 3,4)."⁸² He explains what it means to be a new creation by contrasting putting off sin like an old cloak and, illumined by the light of justification, putting on a new and shining cloak; he then explains how this change affects moral behavior (St 4,12ff.).⁸³

The transition of his initiates from captivity to being free citizens of the Church (St 3,5) is a favorite antithesis for Chrysostom; commenting on Jesus' leading captivity captive (Ps 67.19), he reassures:

But do not be gloomy when you hear the word "captivity," for nothing is more blessed than this captivity. The captivity of men leads one from freedom to slavery, but this captivity changes slavery into freedom. Furthermore, the captivity of men deprives one of his fatherland and leads him to foreign soil; this captivity drives one forth from foreign soil and leads him to his homeland, the heavenly Jerusalem. The captivity of men bereaves one of his mother; this captivity leads you to the common mother of us all. That captivity separates you from kinsmen and fellow citizens; this one leads you to the citizens above, for St. Paul says: "You are citizens with the saints . . . (PK 2,15)."⁸⁴

The effect of the juxtaposition of slavery and freedom is enhanced when Chrysostom adds that they who only yesterday were slaves of sin, with no freedom to speak, subject to the devil's domination, led to this place and that like captives, "have today been received into the rank of sons (St 4,3)."⁸⁵ The transformation of Chrysostom's

⁸²This is immediately followed by the words Chrysostom gives to Christ already cited. He develops this point further in St 1,17; in St 1,5 he graphically describes the bride's sins, and in 14-15 gives an explicit comparison of how earthly and heavenly bridegrooms select their brides. See also St 1,3, cited above.

⁸³Cf. Chrysostom's comparison of wordly adornment to being adorned with good deeds, St 1,34ff.

⁸⁴Chrysostom employs a similar kind of paradox in relating youth/age and sinfulness/virtue, St 6,22.

⁸⁵Similarly in St 2,27,29; 5,22. Chrysostom uses the imagery of being a child of God in St 3,19 and 4,1; cf. St 2,4; 3,10.

newly-arrayed brides and adopted sons is so complete that "We, who before this time were more vile than mud and were, so to speak, crawling along the ground, have suddenly become more shining than gold and have exchanged earth for heaven (St 4,27)."⁸⁶

Dazzling as these descriptions may be, arresting as these antitheses may be, Chrysostom harnesses both the images and their juxtaposition to the service of his main catechetical purpose: moral transformation and the exhortation which he hopes will inspire it.⁸⁷ When those to be baptized hear that the Bridegroom is coming they should heed and keep watch (PK 1,1-2). Since, in kissing each other's mouths at the Kiss of Peace, the neophytes will be kissing the door of a temple of Christ, they must not do this with an evil conscience (PK 3,34; cf.33). Because they are now citizens of another state, they must show the works of that state (St 4,29; cf. 1,18; 7,23); since the rebels have been adopted as sons, "do not relax, do not permit this dignity to be taken away from you, and do not allow yourself to be deprived of this spiritual wealth (St 5,22)." Chrysostom's favorite image of "putting on Christ" is the source of numerous moral appeals, as in the section of St 7 where he characteristically and artfully weaves together *ekphrasis*, antithesis, rhetorical question and exhortation:⁸⁸

Your shining robe now arouses admiration in the eyes of all who behold you, and the radiance of your garments proves that your souls are free from every blemish. For the future, all of you, both you who have just deserved the gift and all who have already reaped for yourselves the benefit of His munificence, must make the excellence of your conduct visible to all and, after the fashion of a torch, you must illumine those who look upon you. For if we should be willing to guard the brightness of this spiritual robe, as time goes on it will send forth a more brilliant luster and abundance of gleaming light,

⁸⁶See also PK 2,16, and Chrysostom's juxtaposition of the seriousness of sin with God's ability to transform, St 1,25. Chrysostom also uses antithesis to emphasize the accomplishments of Christ, IPA 4,7.

⁸⁷Chrysostom's main concern in developing imagery, then, is to effect conversion; in *De non evulgandis fratrum peccatis* he states that he always uses comparisons from everyday life, so that when his hearers go home, everything they see around them will remind them of what he has said (PG 51.358).

⁸⁸As in the instances just referred to, the section cited here is followed by specific explanation of how to obey the exhortation. Chrysostom's reflections on the yoke of Christ (St 1,26-32) also culminate in exhortation.

a thing which cannot happen in the case of material garments. For even if we multiply the care we take of our bodily clothes ten thousand times, the passing years leave them threadbare, and by the time they have gotten old they are worn away to nothing. If we keep them stored away, the moths get at them or they are ruined by the many other things which destroy material garments. If, however, we are eager to do our fair share, the garment of virtue will not become soiled nor feel the onslaught of age, but as time passes, so much the more does it reveal the fresh sheen of its beauty and its radiant light. Did you see the power of this garment? Did you see the luster of this robe which time cannot touch, which age cannot dim? Did you see its irresistible beauty? I exhort you, then, let us be eager to preserve this beauty in its full bloom and let us learn what can keep it bright. What can do this? First of all, earnest prayer and thanksgiving for what God has already given us, and imploring Him to help us keep these gifts secure . . . (St 7,24-25)⁸⁹

What, then, are the main characteristics of John Chrysostom's use of Scriptural material in his initiatory preaching? Chrysostom's use of Scripture was shaped both by his principal goal of effecting moral transformation in his hearers and by his natural gift for eloquence, well-honed by training in sophistic techniques. To summarize, then, Chrysostom takes for granted the truth of Scriptural narrative and makes reference to traditional typology; however, his primary method of using Scripture is to set its images like jewels into the rhetorical settings which will show them off to greatest effect, and then to offer them nested in exhortations which confirm his teaching, in order to persuade and enable his hearers to abandon all for the glory beyond all price.

⁸⁹Similarly, St 6,23-24. Other exhortations based on the baptismal robe are found in St 4,4,18,27; 5,18,26; 7,31-33; 8,25. The brightness of the robe is a special source of exhortation, since the devil is afraid of it because it blinds him (St 4,22-23).

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**Joint International Commission
for Theological Dialogue Between
the Roman Catholic Church
and the Orthodox Church
6 Plenary Session, Freising, 6-15 June, 1990**

STATEMENT

(1) The Commission held its plenary session under the co-presidency of the Greek Orthodox Archbishop of Australia, His Eminence Stylianos and the President of the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity, His Excellency Monsignor Edward Idris Cassidy from 6th to 15th June, 1990 in Freising, at the "Kardinal-Döpfner House," where it enjoyed the generous hospitality of the Archbishop of Munich and Freising, His Eminence Friedrich Cardinal Wetter.

(2) During this year 1990, the International Joint Commission for Theological Dialogue between the Roman Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church finishes ten years of systematic and fruitful work accomplished in a spirit of understanding and fraternal cooperation.

(3) Already two years ago, the Commission thought the time had come to pass on to the study of the theological and canonical consequences of the sacramental structure of the Church, and particularly to take up the question of the reciprocal relationship between authority and conciliarity in the Church. At the same time, the Commission thought it also necessary to take up directly the theological and practical questions facing the Orthodox Church as a consequence of the origin and present existence of the Catholic Churches of Byzantine Rite. This intention was announced at the fourth session in Bari (1987) and began to be put into effect during the meeting of Valamo (1988).

A sub-commission was formed with the mandate to study the subject and report on it to the Commission. This sub-commission met in Vienna in January 1990.

(4) When this sub-commission was formed, no one could foresee the developments which would take place in Eastern Europe and the flowering of religious liberty these have allowed.

The return of vast regions to religious liberty is for Orthodox and Catholics alike, who have both suffered persecutions during decades, a reason for deep thanksgiving to God, showing once more that it is he who is the Lord of history.

(5) The problem of the origin and existence of the Catholic Churches of Byzantine Rite has accompanied the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches since well before the commencement of their dialogue and has been constantly present from the beginning of this dialogue. The way in which they will be able to search out a solution of it together will be a test of the solidity of the theological foundation which has already been laid and which it will be necessary to develop. Because of recent events, the whole meeting has been dedicated to the study of the questions posed by the origin, the existence and the development of the Catholic Churches of Byzantine Rite which are also called "Uniate Churches."

(6) As a result of the discussions, which have taken place in a very sincere and fraternal atmosphere, the Commission wishes to express the following reflections.

(a) Because of the conflictual situation existing in some regions between the Catholic Churches of Byzantine Rite and the Orthodox Church, "Uniatism" is an urgent problem to be treated with priority over all other subjects to be discussed in the dialogue.

(b) The term "Uniatism" indicates here the effort which aims to bring about the unity of the Church by separating from the Orthodox Church communities or Orthodox faithful without taking into account that, according to ecclesiology, the Orthodox Church is a sister-Church which itself offers the means of grace and salvation. In this sense and with reference to the document issued by the Vienna sub-commission, we reject "Uniatism" as a method of unity opposed to the common Tradition of our Churches.

(c) Where "Uniatism" has been employed as a method, it failed to achieve its goal to bring the Churches closer together; rather it provoked new divisions. The situation thus created has been a source of conflict and suffering, and this has deeply marked the memory

and the collective consciousness of the two Churches. On the other hand, for ecclesiological reasons, the conviction has grown that other ways must be sought out.

(d) Today, when our Churches meet on the basis of the ecclesiology of Communion between sister-Churches, it would be regrettable to destroy the important work for the unity of the Churches accomplished through the dialogue, by going back to the method of "Uniatism."

(7) However, beyond historical and theological ways of approaching the subject, practical initiatives should be taken in order to avoid in good time the consequences of dangerous tensions which exist in various Orthodox countries. In this regard, the following may be of help:

(a) Religious liberty for persons and communities is not only a right which must be totally respected. For Christians living with the same divine life, it is also a gift of the Spirit in view of the building up of the Body of Christ to its full stature (cf. Eph 4.16). This liberty excludes absolutely all violence, direct or indirect, physical or moral. It requires, as do all the gifts of the Spirit, which are always granted for the good of all (1 Cor 12.7), fraternal collaboration among pastors with a view to healing the wounds of the past and arriving at guiding the faithful towards a deep and lasting reconciliation, which permits them to recite together, in all truth, the prayer which the Lord has taught to his own.

(b) Consequently, it is necessary that the responsible ecclesial authorities, in the spirit of dialogue and taking into account the wishes of the local communities, strive to solve the concrete points of friction.

Every effort aimed at having the faithful of one Church pass to another, which is commonly called "proselytism," should be excluded as a deviation of pastoral energy. In addition, it would be a counter-witness to those who observe critically the way the Churches use their new liberty and who are ready to detect and utilize every sign of rivalry. This means that the pastor of a community should not interfere in a community entrusted to another pastor, but rather should work in agreement with this other pastor and with all others, in order that all their communities progress towards the same goal, that of common witness given to the world in which they live.

(d) When bilateral agreement has been reached and approved by the respective authorities, it is absolutely necessary that it be implemented.

(8) It is our conviction that dialogue, which is the most suitable way to work for unity, is also the most appropriate forum for confronting problems, particularly that of "Uniatism." For this reason the dialogue must continue. For the present our attention will focus on the study of this particular question.

(9) We think that the presence of the Orthodox Churches which could not attend this meeting would be useful for the successful result of this study.

(10) Following the path opened by the Vienna meeting, the study of this question will be carried forward, since this obstacle has in fact to be overcome if we wish to continue our progress towards unity.

Freising, June 15th, 1990

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Joy: A Scriptural and Patristic Understanding

DEAN LANGIS

ONE OF THE FUNDAMENTAL EXPERIENCES AS WELL AS EXPRESSIONS of the Christian life is that of joy, which is a state of well-being and happiness springing from one's living relationship with God. It will be the purpose of this paper to examine the various types and characteristics of joy as they are described in Scripture and the Christian Patristic writers.

There are a number of Hebrew expressions in the Old Testament that refer to joy, and the Septuagint generally translates these as *ἀγαλλίασις* or *εὐφροσύνη*. Rudolf Bultmann distinguishes the two expressions by stating that *ἀγαλλίασις* refers to joy in its outward expression especially in a cultic setting while *εὐφροσύνη* more specifically denotes the inner mood of satisfied joy.¹ In actual practice, however, the Septuagint alternates and combines *εὐφροσύνη* with other words so that it does not really preserve any one distinct meaning in its various manifestations.²

In the Old Testament joy is presented as a natural response of humanity to God's presence and his saving acts: "in Thy presence there is fullness of joy" (Ps 16.11) and "I will rejoice in the Lord, I will joy in the God of my salvation" (Hab 3.18). Moreover, as Hans

*Dedicated to the blessed memory of Father George Christulides, whose life was the very paragon of Christian joy.

¹ Rudolf Bultmann, "*ἀγαλλιάομαι, ἀγαλλίασις*" and "*εὐφροσύνη*," *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed. Gerhard Kittel, trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids, 1964), 1, p. 19 and 2, p. 772.

² Bultmann, 2, p. 772.

Conzelmann states, "joy is not just inward. It has a cause and finds expression. It thus aims at sharing, especially as festal joy."³ Hence, the most characteristic references to joy in the Old Testament present it in a cultic or festal context, as, for example, Psalm 27.6: ". . . and I will offer in his tent sacrifices with shouts of joy; I will sing and make melody to the Lord." Dorothea Ward Harvey notes that the Old Testament includes a number of different physical expressions of joy: "singing, shouting, noise, uproar, a loud voice, singing praise; . . . dancing, clapping, leaping, or stamping the feet."⁴ This involvement of the body in joyful expression is also discussed by Pietro Dacquino, who states that the Old Testament writers saw joy as a state which encompassed the whole man, both body and soul.⁵

One essential way to express joy in the Old Testament was to declare the glorious and saving acts of God and to give thanks for his gifts. The Old Testament exhorts rejoicing for God's just rule over the peoples of the earth (Ps 67.4), for God's providence and care of the earth (Ps 65.9-11), and for his deliverance of Israel from Egypt and his continuing protection of his people (Ps 105.43). It is not only humanity which rejoices but all of nature as well (Ps 65.8, 12-13).

The Old Testament also speaks of the joy which should accompany one's pilgrimage to the Temple, his sacrifices to God, and his tithe offerings (Deut 12.5-7). Not only are God's commandments a source of delight to his faithful (Ps 119.143), but his words as well: "Thy words were found, and I ate them, and thy words became to me a joy and the delight of my heart. . . ." (Jer 15.16).

In the Old Testament among the earthly gifts which give rise to joy Dacquino mentions the birth of children as in the case of Hannah (1 Sam 2.1ff.), the presence of the beloved spouse (Prov 5.18), a long life on earth (Ecc 30.22), and prosperity and abundance at the time of vintage (Is 16.10) and harvest (Is 9.2).⁶ Dacquino points out that

³ Hans Conzelmann, "*χαίρω, χαρά, συγχαίρω*," *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed. Gerhard Friedrich, trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids, 1964), 9, p. 363.

⁴ Dorothea Ward Harvey, "Joy," *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. George Arthur Buttrick (New York, 1962), 2, p. 1000.

⁵ Pietro Dacquino, "Human Joy and the Hereafter in the Biblical Books," trans. Anthony M. Buono, in *The Gift of Joy*, pp. 17-32. Concilium series no. 39, ed. Christian Duquoc (New York, 1968), p. 18.

⁶ Dacquino, p. 18.

the reason "Old Testament man" seems to focus so much on earthly joys is "precisely because he cannot project beyond death his need for joy and happiness."⁷ However, eventually the prophets, particularly Isaiah, came to proclaim their vision of the ultimate end of history in which God would triumphantly destroy his enemies and save his faithful (see, for example, Is 25.8-9). Isaiah describes the eschaton as a time of great joy (Is 9.2-3), and he likens it to a great feast (Is 25.6) and to the blissful relationship between God as the bridegroom and his chosen people as the bride (Is 62.5). The joy of God's final salvation will be complete and total because, as Dacquino states, "the things that presently disturb it will become insignificant: man's wickedness, wars, outrages, sins (cf. Is 11.9, 60.18, 60.25, 32.17, 35.9, Ezek 34.25, 28, Zech 14.11) and, above all, sickness (cf. Is 32.24, 35.5-6a), suffering, sorrow and death (cf. Is 51.11b, 65.19b, 35.10c, 25.8b)."⁸ For the faithful of the Old Testament the very hope of this final joy brought joy in itself.

In the New Testament, although the words *ἀγαλλίασις* and *εὐφροσύνη* continue to play a role, it is the concept of *χαρά* which will become dominant in references to joy. The term *ἀγαλλίασις* has the same use in the New Testament (outside the corpus of Saint Paul, who never uses the term) as in the Old,⁹ and, according to Bultmann, "God's help is always the theme of the *ἀγαλλίασις* which is always a jubilant and thankful exultation."¹⁰ The term *εὐφροσύνη* plays even less a role than *ἀγαλλίασις* in the New Testament and mainly refers either to secular joy (Lk 12.19, 16.19) or to the joy of a festive meal (Lk 15.23).¹¹ *Εὐφροσύνη* is also used to describe the joy of mutual fellowship in 2 Corinthians 2.2 and to refer to eschatological rejoicing in Revelation 12.12 and 18.20.¹²

The words *χαρά* — *χαίρω* in their original Greek usage meant "to rejoice" or "to be merry." Although in the New Testament *χαρά* continued to be used in reference to joy of a secular nature as in the *χαρά* of the woman who finds the lost coin in the parable of

⁷ Ibid. p. 20.

⁸ Ibid. p. 24.

⁹ Bultmann, 1, p. 20.

¹⁰ Ibid. 1, p. 20.

¹¹ See Ibid. 2, p. 774.

¹² See Ibid.

Luke 15.8-9, it also was used to indicate the highest form of religious joy as in the eschatological marriage of the Lamb and his bride in Revelation 19.7. Thus, in the New Testament it is the word *χαρά* which is generally used to describe all forms and levels of joy.

In the Synoptic Gospels it is especially Luke which discusses the various types of joy. The angel Gabriel announced the tidings of joy to Zechariah concerning the birth of John the Baptist (Lk 1.14) and later to the Virgin Mary concerning the birth of Jesus as the Messiah (Lk 1.28ff.). The angel of the Lord proclaimed to the shepherds the great joy which would come to all people because of the birth of Jesus Christ (Lk 2.10). During Christ's public ministry "the people rejoiced at all the glorious things that were done by him" (Lk 13.17). Both Luke and Matthew describe the enthusiasm of the people during Jesus' triumphal entry into Jerusalem before his passion, but it is only Luke which specifically refers to their "rejoicing" (Lk 19.37). Matthew mentions the "fear and great joy" (Mt 28.8) of the women at the empty tomb after they had received the message of Christ's resurrection from the angel, and Luke describes the joy and wonder of the disciples during Christ's first resurrection appearance to them (Lk 24.41) and after His ascension to heaven (Lk 24.52).

In the Gospel of John, Saint John the Baptist compares his joy to that of the friend of the bridegroom (Jh 3.29). Conzelmann interprets the "fullness" of the Baptist's joy to mean that "the ancient time has run its course and the time of joy is present with Jesus. . . . Fulfilled . . . does not mean that joy has reached a climax but that its object has appeared. Throughout John's Gospel fulfillment and joy are related to the person of Jesus."¹³ In his farewell discourse Jesus exhorts his disciples to rejoice at his departure since he will be with the Father (Jn 14.28). By receiving Christ's joy within themselves, the disciples may find joy which is full and definitive, and it is through receiving Jesus' words that they may attain to this joy (Jn 15.11 and 17.13). Jesus also promises that we will receive whatever we ask in his name, that our "joy may be full" (Jn 16.24).

Conzelmann notes that in the writings of Saint Paul, *χαρά* is never used in a secular sense.¹⁴ Saint Paul sees *χαρά* primarily as a gift of God to the believer. True faith in God necessarily involves joy

¹³Conzelmann, p. 370.

¹⁴Ibid. p. 369.

(Phil 1.25), and this joy is a fruit of the Holy Spirit (Gal 5.22). Saint Paul also affirms the eschatological dimension of joy when he states that the kingdom of God means "righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit" (Rom 14.17). For Saint Paul our salvation has been inaugurated by the incarnation, ministry, crucifixion, and resurrection of Jesus Christ; nonetheless, our salvation will not be complete until Christ's second coming and final judgment. Consequently, the Christian experiences joy in his relationship with God in the present world, but his joy will not be complete until the full establishment of God's kingdom.

It is particularly in his Epistle to the Philippians that Saint Paul speaks of the joy of the Christian. The fact that Saint Paul was in prison and in danger of death at the time he wrote this epistle is all the more evidence of the genuineness and profundity of the joy which he describes as integral to the life of the Christian. Saint Paul repeatedly states that true joy is in the Lord (Phil 3.1, 4.10) and exhorts Christians to "rejoice in the Lord always" (Phil 4.4). In Philippians 2.17-18 Saint Paul describes the mutuality and reciprocity of Christian joy — it must be shared and communicated with others (see also Rom 12.15). Indeed, as Dacquino points out, throughout the New Testament we have evidence of the joyous nature of the fellowship enjoyed in various Christian communities: Acts 15.3, Philippians 2.28, 2 John 4, and 3 John 3.¹⁵

The New Testament conception of joy differs from that of the Old Testament not only in its rooting in the person of Jesus Christ but also in its expression even in the midst of sufferings and afflictions. In Matthew 5.12 Christ exhorts his followers to rejoice in the very persecutions they endure. The Epistle of James teaches that we should count our trials (*πειρασμοί*) as joy since they produce steadfastness of character (Jas 1.2). The first Epistle of Peter states that we should rejoice in our sufferings as sharing in the sufferings of Christ (1 Pet 4.12-14). Moreover, despite our present sufferings, we look forward to our joy in the eschaton when Christ's glory will be revealed. The Epistle to the Hebrews also posits joy in the hope of future deliverance against the persecutions and trials of the present life (Heb 10.32-39). Thus, as Hans Urs von Balthasar states:

true faith produce[s] in suffering the patience which leads as such

¹⁵Dacquino, p. 26.

to the eschaton. . . The little bit of sadness and, if need be, 'trials of many sorts' can serve two ends: testing (whether one's faith is genuine) and purification (to make it more genuine); one can already rejoice over this in advance with an 'ineffable and sublime joy' (1 Pet 1.6-8).¹⁶

Before moving on to the Patristic writers' reflections on joy, a brief consideration of the concept of *μακαριότης* or blessedness in the Old and New Testaments would be useful. In ancient Greek usage the term *μακάριος* referred to "the transcendent happiness of a life beyond care, labor, and death,"¹⁷ as Friedrich Hauch states, and was used to describe only the gods and the blessed dead. In the Old Testament the characteristic form of the beatitude, "*Μακάριος, ὃς (τις)*" (Blessed is the one who) is used to translate a number of Hebrew expressions. The Hebrew concept of blessedness according to Hauch has to do with fullness of life, both in earthly blessings (one's wife, children, beauty, etc.) and especially in wisdom and piety as God's gifts.¹⁸ In the New Testament beatitudes are found primarily in Matthew, Luke, and the book of Revelation. Hauch states that

the special feature of the group in the NT is that it refers overwhelmingly to the distinctive religious joy which accrues to man from his share in the salvation of the kingdom of God. . . . As distinct from those of the OT, they [the New Testament beatitudes] are not part of practical wisdom but come in the context of eschatological proclamation.¹⁹

The reversal of the normal standards of this world in the beatitudes of the New Testament (blessed are the poor in spirit, the mournful, the meek, the persecuted, etc.) is possible because those who suffer in this life for Christ's sake will rejoice in the fullness of God's glory in the kingdom.

In turning to the Church Fathers' observations on joy, it is clear

¹⁶Hans Urs von Balthasar, "Joy and the Cross," in *The Gift of Joy*, pp. 83-96, Concilium series no. 39, ed. Christian Duquoc (New York, 1968), p. 92.

¹⁷Friedrich Hauch, "*μακάριος, μακαρίζω, μακαρισμός*," *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed. Gerhard Kittel, trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids, 1964), Vol. 4, p. 362.

¹⁸Hauch, p. 365.

¹⁹*Ibid.* p. 367.

that they set forth genuine faith, trust, and reliance on God as the essential prerequisites for attaining to Christian joy. In his discourse on consultation Dorotheos of Gaza describes his profound joy after a vision which taught him never to rely on himself but to place his complete trust in God in all matters.²⁰ A much more recent writer of the Church, Saint John of Kronstadt, expresses the link between faith and joy as follows: "Faith gives rest and joy; unbelief troubles and wounds."²¹

In placing our trust and hope in God, we realize our own sinfulness and falling short of God's will for us; hence, the need for Christian repentance and humility. Saint Symeon the New Theologian identifies the very act of repentance as a source of joy since God's merciful forgiveness "will change the bitterness of his heart into the sweetness of wine, and will cause him to spew forth the poison of the dragon (cf. Ps 14.3) that was burning up his innards."²² Saint Symeon also affirms the joy inherent in the renunciation of this world in favor of devoting oneself completely to God and cites Saint Anthony as an example.²³

A number of Fathers speak of the joy which characterizes sincere and fervent prayer to the Lord, and one writer, Evagrius, identifies joy as the *sine qua non* of its genuineness: "If when praying no other joy can attract you, then truly you have found prayer."²⁴ The basic reason for the joy found in prayer is given by Saint John of Kronstadt as follows: "a lively sense of God's presence is a source of peace and joy to the soul."²⁵ Saint John of the Ladder compares two modes of joy with respect to the two modes of prayer: "One kind of joy occurs

²⁰Dorotheos of Gaza, *Discourses and Sayings*, trans. Eric P. Wheeler, Cistercian Studies Series no. 33, ed. E. Rozanne Elder et al. (Kalamazoo, 1977), p. 128.

²¹Saint John of Kronstadt, *The Spiritual Counsels of Saint John of Kronstadt: Select Passages from "My Life in Christ,"* ed. W. Jardine Grisbrooke (Cambridge, 1967; reprinted Crestwood, 1981), p. 4.

²²Saint Symeon the New Theologian, *The Discourses*, trans. C.J. deCatanzaro, Classics of Western Spirituality series, gen. ed. Richard J. Payne (New York, 1980), p. 256.

²³*Ibid.* pp. 120-21.

²⁴Evagrius the Solitary, "On Prayer," in the *Philokalia — The Complete Text compiled by Saint Nikodimos of the Holy Mountain and Saint Makarios of Colrinth*, trans. and ed. G. E. H. Palmer, Philip Sherrard, Kallistos Ware, et al. (London, 1979), p. 71.

²⁵Saint John of Kronstadt, p. 22.

at the time of prayer for those living in community, and another comes to those who pray in stillness. The one is perhaps somewhat elated, but the other is wholly filled with humanity."²⁶ If one truly loves God with all his heart, soul, and mind as Christ taught, then nothing can bring him greater joy than communicating in prayer with God who is the source of all love. Moreover, since we also communicate with the living God and participate with his grace in the Sacraments, Saint John of Kronstadt declares that they too produce "deep peace, with a wonderful sense of joy and freedom in the life of the believer."²⁷

In addition to the joy which we receive through prayer and the sacraments, the Fathers also refer to the joy which accompanies the active working of the good and struggling against evil. In fact, Dorotheos of Gaza sees the joy resulting from good works as an incentive to further goodness: "What, more than anything else, makes a soul do good if not the joy that good itself brings it? Who knows that joy except the man who has experienced it?"²⁸ In fighting evil and practicing the good, one puts himself in harmony with God's will, and this very obedience to God is a source of the deepest joy.

The theme of joy in sufferings and trials as found in the New Testament is also carried on by the Fathers. Saint John Chrysostom in his commentary on 2 Corinthians 1.5 praises the endurance and fortitude of Abraham in his difficulties and then goes on to extol

the blessed Paul, [who] through seeing trials in very snow-showers assailing him daily, rejoiced and exulted as though in the mid-delights of Paradise. As then he who is gladdened with this joy cannot be a prey to despair; so he who maketh not this [joy] his own is easily overcome of all; . . . And truly stouter than any armor is joy in God; and whoso hath it, nothing can ever make his head droop or his countenance sad, but he beareth all things nobly.²⁹

Saint Symeon points to the ultimate joy awaiting the Christian despite

²⁶Saint John Climacus, *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*, rev. ed. (Boston, 1978), p. 215.

²⁷Saint John of Kronstadt, p. 100.

²⁸Dorotheos of Gaza, p. 113.

²⁹Saint John Chrysostom, *Homilies on the Epistle of Saint Paul to the Corinthians*, trans. Talbot W. Chambers, in *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, ed. Philip Schaff, Vol. 7 (Grand Rapids, 1956), p. 275.

his present sufferings: "Tell me, what is more beautiful than a soul undergoing tribulation, which knows that by enduring it will inherit joy in all things?"³⁰

In terms of the spiritual life, Saint Diadochos of Photiki describes the "ineffable joy" which God's grace produces in the life of "those who are advancing in spiritual knowledge,"³¹ and he describes three stages of joy: an initiatory stage in which joy is not exempt from fantasy, a middle level consisting of godly sorrow and active tears, and a final stage of the joy of perfection.³² Saint John of Kronstadt contrasts the pleasures of this world, which he considers illusory and ephemeral, to the eternal joy to come and states that even godly bliss on this earth is but "a pale shadow of that future bliss which is unspeakable and eternal."³³

It is especially Saint Symeon the New Theologian who discusses the ineffable joy of the mystical experience of God by the believer. In describing his experiences of God's uncreated light, Saint Symeon states, "The unexpected marvel struck me with amazement; it filled my whole soul and my heart with joy, so much so that it seemed to me as though my body partook of that unspeakable grace."³⁴ He also affirms the unspeakable joy of a person's mystical union with God³⁵ and even conversation with him: "I thought that this glory and this joy were beyond understanding; then Thou again, the Master, didst speak as a friend conversing with his friend, . . ."³⁶ Nonetheless, in this conversation with God Saint Symeon learns that the joy of the mystical experience of God in this life cannot even compare with the bliss of the life to come.³⁷

Although most of the references to joy in the writings of the Fathers which I have come across are scattered here and there, Saint Nicholas

³⁰Saint Symeon, p. 48.

³¹Saint Diadochos of Photiki, "On Spiritual Knowledge and Discrimination," in the *Philokalia — The Complete Text compiled by Saint Nikodimos of the Holy Mountain and Saint Makarios of Corinth*, trans. and ed. G. E. H. Palmer, Philip Sherrard, Kallistos Ware, et al. (London, 1979), p. 281.

³²Saint Diadochos of Photiki, p. 271.

³³Saint John of Kronstadt, pp. 229-30.

³⁴Saint Symeon, p. 364.

³⁵*Ibid.* p. 360.

³⁶*Ibid.* p. 375.

³⁷*Ibid.*

Kabasilas devotes most of the second half of the seventh book of his *Life in Christ* to the theme of Christian's joy. Kabasilas points out the close relationship between joy and love and his entire discussion proceeds from the following thesis: "Indeed, we have joy in ourselves to the extent that we love."³⁸ Kabasilas states that the source of joy is our love for God, and since our joy is in proportion to the greatness of its source, so the potential for our joy is infinite since God is infinite.³⁹

Kabasilas attests that when we direct our whole will to God in an attitude of loving self-surrender, we find joy.⁴⁰ He further states that Christians "have joy, not because he shares his benefits with them, but because he is in the benefits, since they have him with them and enjoy his benevolence."⁴¹ As Christians we are to rejoice because Christ himself rejoices,⁴² and we are to rejoice in the good of our fellow human beings as well⁴³ since the bond of love which unites us to God unites us also to all of God's children.

According to Kabasilas true blessedness is to abide in love, which is to abide in God, which is to possess him.⁴⁴ Furthermore, the blessed life consists of love and joy⁴⁵ and is marked by "the perfection of the will in the present life."⁴⁶ Nevertheless, Saint Kabasilas along with Saint Symeon the New Theologian and Saint John of Kronstadt maintains that our Christian joy will not be continuous or perfect until the life to come.⁴⁷

For the biblical writers, especially Saint Paul, and the Fathers of the Church, joy is an integral feature and distinguishing characteristic of the Christian life. In the Old Testament joy is understood primarily as a free human response to God's presence and His saving acts. In the New Testament this concept of joy is both

³⁸Nicholas Kabasilas, *The Life in Christ*, trans. Carmino J. deCatanaro (Crestwood, 1974), p. 210.

³⁹Ibid. pp. 212 and 213.

⁴⁰Ibid. p. 217.

⁴¹Ibid. p. 218.

⁴²Ibid. p. 219.

⁴³Ibid. p. 210.

⁴⁴Ibid. p. 225.

⁴⁵Ibid. p. 226.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Ibid.

deepened in its meaning and made more specific in its focus by finding its basis in the person of Jesus Christ. The New Testament writers see joy as a gift of God to the believer through Christ which shines forth even in the midst of sufferings and afflictions. The Church Fathers further describe the nature of this joy by stressing its relation to faith in God, repentance and humility, the sacramental life, and prayer. The Fathers also analyze the relationship of joy to obedience to God, the active struggle for good and against evil, the mystic experience of God, and especially to the depth of our love for God and for our neighbor. As God is love, he is also joy, and it is by deepening our relationship with him that we can participate ever more fully in his joy. Moreover, a deeper relationship with the Lord expresses itself in a fuller and more intimate communion with our fellow human beings. Hence, it is love and joy which mutually reinforce, invigorate, and strengthen one another in our Christian life and goal of salvation.

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Justice and Peace: An Ongoing and Unending Process for Freedom and Transformation for the World Today*

GENNADIOS LIMOURIS

WE ARE LIVING IN A TIME WHEN THE WHOLE OF HUMANITY IS struggling for justice and peace, but also in a time of confusion, in the calm before the storm. The guarantee that Hiroshima will not be followed by either a "Euroshima" or a "Worldshima" is weak indeed. In the 1960s the world was confronted with revolutions, the 1970s were confronted with ecological problems and now the great passion is *justice and peace*. Whoever puts a finger on the world's pulse knows that peace and justice are threatened by a third world war which can mean the destruction and end of the whole world. Therefore, it is becoming increasingly clear that the world is confronted with significant questions and problems, for the solution of which the necessary ethical basis must be found within ecclesial experience of the church. The dilemma facing us is how we, as Christians and Orthodox, are to confront the burning issues of justice and peace.

From the very beginning the church was sent to proclaim and create justice and peace. The more peace is threatened, the more the church needs to be concerned about peace. Meanwhile, the preparation of the Great Council, the Eastern Orthodox Churches, during the Third Pre-Conciliar Pan-Orthodox Conference at Chambésy, Switzerland (28 October-6 November 1986), reflected on and set out very clearly how the Orthodox Church can achieve justice,

*A paper delivered at the World Council of Churches Inter-Orthodox Consultation on "Orthodox Perspectives on Justice and Peace" held in Minsk/USSR from 4-12 May 1989.

peace, freedom, fraternity, and love between peoples, as well as suppress racial discrimination. At the consultation here we have a unique chance to examine these issues in the light of the justice, peace and integrity of creation programme of the WCC. In this whole process towards the world convocation, we as Orthodox are called upon to reflect once more on how justice and peace are interrelated in the world situation of today in order to realize God's kingdom and God's plans for our salvation.

From Roman times up to the present day people have paid homage to the principle: "Si vis pacem, para bellum" (If you want peace, prepare for war). Today we need a new principle: "Si vis pacem, para pacem" (If you want peace, prepare for peace) because we cannot serve God and the military. This paper is written from that viewpoint.

No Orthodox Christian, nor the whole of humanity can remain indifferent to the tragedies which are taking place on this earth's living planet. First of all the tremendous amount of human suffering involved in particular by recent events in the Middle East; and then the inertia which makes states and nations unable to take radical and immediate decisions to put an end to the daily inhuman suffering of innocent human beings.

At the time of writing there is a sense of frustration because the situation in Lebanon is insupportable and the rest of humanity just looks on as a mere spectator. But that is not the only situation in our world. As we turn our eyes to other parts of it, we see sisters and brothers struggling against apartheid; others poor and oppressed; wars of religion, as well as the persecution of people who provided Christian values of truth for this life, witnessing to their faith and fighting for the renewal and transformation of this world. And in the midst of the new martyrs of faith there is Christ who is the only way of truth and whose church, the ecclesial community of all the people of God, embraces the whole of humanity and proclaims the "gospel of peace" (Eph 6.15) and justice. Because through Christ himself "all things, whether on earth or in heaven, make peace by the blood of his cross" (Col 1.20). "He came and preached peace to you who were far off and peace to those who were near" (Eph 2.17). He became "our peace" (Eph 2.14). This peace "which passes all understanding" (Phil 4.7) was promised by Christ himself to his disciples during the Holy Supper, a promise given also to the world: "Peace I leave with you; my peace I give to you; not as the world gives do I give to you" (Jn 14.27).

Peace and war are both born in the heart of humanity. For the heart, in the biblical sense of the term, is the depth, the very core of the human person, where bonds with other people are formed. The deep meaning of life, the value-inspiring action and the ultimate source of these values is God. Unbridled passions, dissoluteness, grudges — these movements of the heart give rise to sin. It is sin which, behind all objective reality, all social inequity brought about by a given political system, lies at the root of war and its train of woes: hatred between people and peoples, exaggerated claims of real or imaginary rights, economic wretchedness, loss of human lives and of happiness. In contrast to this grisly sequence of sin, peace is born in the heart of regenerated humanity: for regenerated humanity has become a child of God, reconciled with its Father and Creator. This peace, as Jesus reminds us, is diametrically opposed to the fleeting moment of peace the world can provide, which is based on fear, terror and injustice. Jesus' peace is the fruit of a deep reconciliation between humanity and nations which, setting aside human wisdom, passions, ambitions, and selfishness, come together to pool their experience at the foot of the Cross and to agree on essentials concerning the common good and peace in the world.

For the Christian peace, justice and a peaceful life are situations in which difficult problems are not solved by force of arms; it is a situation in which there is no room for tension and mistrust between peoples and states. Peace is not only a gift from God from outside, but also the result of human effort by whole nations. Peace was, and remains for some, that which has not yet been achieved and for which many-sided, untiring work, and the unity of all peace-loving forces, are imperative. Peace is not static, and therefore a dynamic process is needed in order to achieve a just peace; this inevitably leads to difficulties because the process embraces both the people of good will and the resistance of the opponent.

Meanwhile this process includes mutual understanding and contradiction. The issues at stake are human mind and its renewal or transformation, changes in society, co-existence between states with different socio-political and economic systems and the reshaping of the world. Jesus Christ, our liberator, does not stand aside in this process. He is there and supports with his strength those fighting for the just cause, those giving their lives for their sisters and brothers, resisting the arrogant who humble their neighbors or do not help the thirsty, the hungry, the sick and the exhausted or all those who

have been robbed of their freedom, work and life.

The Church Fathers quite often distinguish three aspects of human peace: peace with God, peace with one's conscience and peace with one's neighbour. And none of these aspects alone can be effective and significant, and every effort for peace is effective, no matter where it comes from.

For an Orthodox, peace is the most important aspect of the Church's experience of its spiritual and sacramental life, its service and *diakonia* to humanity, through prayer and all possible means. The desire for peace and the duty to serve the world are described in particular in the liturgy, where there is a hidden memory of Christ's aims of reconciliation and where the whole content of the liturgical prayers is directed to helping people to be reconciled with God, to be in communion with him, the church and people, so that an unbreakable peace arises between heaven and earth: "In peace let us pray to the Lord," "for peace of God and for the whole world . . . let us pray to the Lord." Through these words believers recognize, as nowhere else, the needs of humanity, they recognize their own responsibility for the world and they prepare themselves for service to the highest ideals. It is the liturgy which is God's Word in prayer that teaches the people of God not only to maintain the eternal, but also to serve humanity, to serve those near and those far, to serve so that with the help and grace of God . . . "the good are rewarded by goodness and the deceitful also by goodness" (St. Basil's Divine Liturgy).

The struggle for peace brings people closer to each other and helps them to understand each other better, to perceive the problems of peace and humanity more deeply and to proclaim the good news with a new sense of responsibility. In their struggle for peace, the Christian faithful experience a spiritual renewal of their being, of their purpose in life, of their understanding for other Christians and people of other confessions, denominations, and religions and even for people who know neither faith nor the gospel. The struggle for justice and peace has no boundaries, frontiers or confessional limits, but as Christians, our concepts and definitions of justice and peace are deeply rooted in Christ's message and God's love for humanity.

In the depths of their hearts everyone longs for justice and peace. But history shows us that humanity cannot create and maintain peace. The Israelites knew that peace was God's gift. The Greeks and Romans defined peace as *tranquillitas ordinis* and believed that peace could

be established via weapons and gods. Israel on the other hand was to trust less in war and more in peace as God's gift (Is 48.22; 54.10; 57.20). In the prophetic corpus peace is central — a watchword for the time of messianic salvation (Is 57.19; 66.12; Jer 33.6; Ezek 34.25; 37.26).

In Jesus of Nazareth this promise of peace was fulfilled (Lk 7.50; 8.48). Jesus greets the sick with words of peace and praises peacemakers (Lk 7.50; 8.48; Mt 5.9). After the resurrection he greets the disciples with words of peace and sends them on the great mission of peace (Jn 20.19, 26). Therefore, peace is a central word, not only in the Bible, but also in the life of humanity, in both the Old and the New Testaments. Peace is an essential word in the life and prayer of the church. On the other hand, peace is also a key word in the international political dialogue between the great powers of East and West. For the first time in history, we are in a situation where we are capable of exterminating the whole of human civilization. It is, therefore, no wonder that people in all countries talk about and long for peace and justice.

Peace, in the biblical sense of the word, is more than an absence of violence and war. Between today's world powers with their nuclear weapons there is a peace of deterrence, built on a balance of capability of destruction. This technocratic world peace is built on fear and mistrust. But that is not the biblical vision of peace. The meaning and understanding of peace — "shalom" (in Hebrew) or "eiréne" (in Greek) — is something more than the absence of war and threat. Peace in the holy scriptures and especially in the Old Testament is an extremely broad concept: salvation, wholeness, justice, happiness, blessing, joy, health, security and freedom — all in one word. God's peace is a new creation and a new life, and not merely absence of war. There is no peace without justice. Jesus did not propagate the political peace of Pax Romana but a peace of God, which means fellowship with sinners, the poor, the socially outcast. Between God's peace and "political peace" the Cross stands as a criterion. But peace is a gift from God; it is grace and forgiveness. Peace is also in our world today; it is rooted in power and politics and is supported by an ideology that believes "the enemy" is wrong and one's own country is right.

In order to start a war, political leaders have to sketch a picture of the enemy as a terrible beast. Jesus says: "Love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you" (Mt 5.44). Biblical peace is also

built on the confession of guilt and on God's gift of forgiveness. The Apostle Paul always talks about "grace and peace" (Phil 1.2), God's peace is created by grace.

Political peace, therefore, is obviously not the same as God's peace. But the two areas are not unrelated. If nations live together in peace and collaboration, they are much closer to the ideal of the kingdom of God than nations living in enmity and in fear of each other. Peace between nation-states, however, is not the highest goal for a Christian. Rather, Christians must understand peace based on reconciliation to Jesus Christ. Christians should be prepared to witness to God's peace in Jesus Christ in both word and deed, which means loving people, including "the enemy" for the sake of the "peace of the gospel."

First of all, we have to acknowledge that there is the issue of social, political and economic justice. Human beings want justice, and have every right to demand it, to the greatest possible extent that it can be attained on this earth. Christians must bear witness to this fact and must serve the cause of justice in human life in all its forms. There is a great deal of injustice in the world which we have to face daily and experience in one way or another: world oppression, exploitation, inequality, tyranny, etc. Some people have possessions and power; others are deprived of freedom, at least in certain external and social ways, while yet others have to accept their lot in life without power to control it, or to choose or change their ways of living and working. The Christian teaching is that injustice in all its forms is rooted in wickedness and sin. It is not the result of some accident of history or biology. Where there is injustice, there is also necessarily guilt. Where there is injustice, someone, somewhere, is somehow responsible. Injustice does not simply happen. It is caused by the evil of human beings. The Christ of the church, who is himself the fulfillment of the law, and the prophets with their unyielding demands for justice among human beings, promised to establish justice in his kingdom at the end of the ages. This is an essential part of his service as the Messiah of God. He himself predicts that, until he comes again in glory, there will not be perfect justice on earth. But he himself demands that people — certainly *his* people — should hunger and thirst for justice and do all in their power to see that it triumphs in human life, here and now. And he judges the acts of human beings according to this rule: all human beings, both those who explicitly know him and those who do not. "For he will render to every man

according to his works; to those who by patience in well-doing seek for glory and honour and immortality, he will give eternal life; but for those who are factious and do not obey the truth, but obey wickedness, there will be wrath and fury. There will be tribulation and distress for every human being who does evil, the Jew first and also the Greek, but glory and honour and peace for every one who does good, the Jew first and also the Greek. For God shows no partiality" (Rom 2.6-10).

In the struggle for justice the Lord sides with the victimized and the oppressed. He condemns the tyrannous, he throws down the mighty. He exalts the lowly; he judges the rich who set their hearts on their wealth and multiply their possessions at the expense of the exploited. The fact that the poor will always be with us, as Jesus said, does not allow human beings to be callous and indifferent to the needs of their fellow creatures.

The fact that perfect justice will be established in the kingdom to come does not free human beings from establishing justice now, to the extent possible. On the contrary, it compels them to do so. "But if any one has the world's goods and sees his brother in need, yet closes his heart against him, how does God's love abide in him? Little children, let us not love in word or speech but in deed and in truth." (1 Jn 3.17-18). And in the Epistle of James we read: "What does it profit, my brethren, if a man says he has faith but has no works? Can his faith save him? If a brother or sister is ill-clad and in lack of daily goods, and one of you says: 'Go in peace, be warmed and filled,' without giving them the things needed for the body, what does it profit? So faith by itself, if it has no works, is dead" (2.14-17). And later we are confronted with the invitation which is addressed to all of us: "Come now, you rich, weep and howl for the miseries that are coming upon you. Your riches have rotted and your garments are moth-eaten. Your gold and silver have rusted, and their rust will be evidence against you and will eat your flesh like fire. You have laid up treasure for the last days. Behold, the wages of the laborers who mowed your fields, which you kept back by fraud, cry out; and the cries of the harvesters have reached the ears of the Lord of hosts. You have lived on the earth in luxury and in pleasure; you have fattened your hearts in a day of slaughter. You have condemned, you have killed the righteous man; he does not resist you" (Jas 5.1-6).

These words of the apostles of Christ are no less violent and uncompromising than the works of his Old Testament prophets. The

Lord sides with the oppressed and favors the poor. *He himself became poor*, being the owner of everything so that by his poverty we all might become rich and inherit everything in the kingdom of God (cf. 2 Cor 8.9). And in this world he rewards justice and peace in ways known to himself, according to his inscrutable and unfathomable providence which is always beneficent while favouring and blessing the poor and the oppressed. However, the Lord does not necessarily join their political party or accept their economic ideology or endorse their philosophical world-view. And Christ certainly judges their sins, as he does those of the rich, being himself the perfect practitioner of justice. "The rich and the poor meet together; the Lord is the maker of them all" (Prov 22.2). God in Christ is with the oppressed and victimized in their sorrow and affliction, but he is not necessarily with them in their struggles and actions.

Christ is to be considered as neither a socialist nor a capitalist, nor a monarchist or democrat, nor a communist or fascist. He accepts no other vision of human life than his own. He is the only way by which to communicate with God, the Creator and Father. By the way of truth and justice, Christ is king and subject, master and slave, ruler and servant, "the offerer and the offered, the one who receives and is distributed" (St. Chrysostom's Divine Liturgy). He is known and worshipped this way in the ecclesial life of his Church. He cannot be co-opted into any earthly program and action which denies any aspect of his theandric being and life as Lord of the universe and its crucified victim. In serving the cause of justice and peace in the world, Christians must themselves be just in every way, whatever their social and economic status, political persuasion or ideological position may be in any given instance and situation.

This, of course, does not mean that Christians are to remain aloof, indifferent or uncommitted to political and social movements and actions. It does mean, however, that they are to remain inwardly free and detached, preserved from the "insanity" of selling their souls to an earthly cause and depersonalizing themselves into mindless members of a collective crusade in which they are compelled to sell their divine birthright of spiritual freedom for a mess of secular, material pottage.

As Orthodox Christians we stand judges with all people on the issue of human justice in this world. In essence we are even more guilty for our sins in this regard than others because we claim to be God's people and children of God's kingdom. For, as Jesus has

said, "Everyone to whom much is given, of him will much be required" (Lk 12.48); and we dare to pray in our liturgy: "Grant us your peace and your love, O Lord, our God, for you have given all things unto us" (St. Basil's Divine Liturgy).

If we have indeed been given not simply *much*, but *all things* from the Lord, then we, of all people, must be lovers and servants of justice on the earth. For this reason, therefore, our acceptance of secular ideologies in place of the gospel of Christ, often covering these ideologies of human beings with the name of God.

Perfect justice lies only in Christ and in the Church. The most just society on this earth — whatever its form at the moment — is always determined by time and place, by the pragmatic considerations which the given situation demands, but must be inspired and patterned after the kingdom of God.

Cries for Freedom

In relation to the issue of justice, people today cry out for freedom. They want to be free in many different ways. In addition to the movements for political, economic, social and religious freedom, there are also many other kinds of liberation movements, particularly in the Western world and also in the third world.

True freedom, in the Christian perspective consists neither in passive resignation to one's earthly fate nor in active rebellion against the conditions and structures of life in which one finds oneself in the world. It consists rather in the joyful acceptance of one's earthly conditions provided by a gracious, wise and loving God who has given each individual a life fulfilling an earthly vocation in the service of God and humanity. Belief in divine providence and recognition that each person has a unique vocation from God, being called upon to sanctify, transfigure and redeem the specific conditions of his/her life in ways provided and revealed by God, is fundamental to the Christian view of liberation.

Humans are truly free when they love their life in the world, their time, their place, their calling and their task; when they believe that their life is the best for them in which to fulfil their vocation; when they struggle to work out their salvation in obedience to God and serve their fellow human beings within the situation in which God has put them; and then they trust that God's will will be done in their life — the will of God whose ways and thoughts are not ours — if only

they are obedient to God's commandments in the smallest and seemingly most insignificant detail of their daily activity. Such persons are truly free because, paradoxically, they accept their human situation and condition and, at the same time, are not determined or bound by it. Jesus himself is the most perfect example of such behavior. He embraced the conditions of his earthly life, was subject to "every human institution" (to use the apostle's expression) for God's sake: to his family, society, nation, religion, political situation.

It is to this freedom of Christ that all human beings are called. It is the freedom of the "glorious liberty of the children of God" (Rom 8.21), guaranteed and realized in human beings by the indwelling of the Spirit of God. It is the freedom not to miss the mark of one's human vocation by making life in this world an end in itself or by defining one's entire being and life by the life in this world; or by yielding to the wickedness and evil which a self-centered, this-worldly life necessarily demands. And the Epistle to Galatians clearly states this call to freedom: "For you were called to freedom, brethren; only do not use your freedom as an opportunity for the flesh, but through love be servants of one another. For the whole law is fulfilled in one word, 'You shall love your neighbor as yourself'" (Gal 5.13-14).

Therefore in Christ and the Church we find the image and meaning of true freedom, which is liberation from the "law of sin and death" (Rom 8.2). Only in Christ and the Church do we find the pattern for the right relationship of human beings to each other, to themselves, to their bodies, to their sexuality, to their psychic and emotional experiences, to their earthly institutions and histories, to their death . . . and to God himself. This "right relationship" is true liberty. When a person finds it and live it, he or she is free indeed. Without it there is only enslavement to "empty deceit, according to human tradition, according to the elemental spirits of the universe" (Col 2.8) and bondage to the graceless powers of "this age" whose "form is passing away" (1 Cor 7.31).

Therefore, true freedom is in Christ and the Church as God's kingdom on earth. Our witness and service in the world is to have people see this and know this, and so to be freed from the futility of their delusions and rebellions, as well as from the frustrations, dissatisfactions and disappointments which inevitably result when their earthly needs and desires, even when satisfied, still prove insufficient and unfulfilling.

God's commandment to love one's neighbor, even one's enemy,

means that Christians are always called to love justice and maintain peace with all people, insofar as this depends on them. It is therefore inconsistent with a life in Christ for them actively to support or tacitly to tolerate a known injustice. There are however different points of view currently held by Christians who advocate justice and wish to promote peace in situations of injustice, oppression, and conflict.

God has covenanted with his people in order to be glorified and worshiped by his people through their living in a world of justice and freedom. The glory of God can only be reflected because of the unfaithfulness of God's people and because of the faithfulness of God. Covenanting is a process because God's people continuously break the covenant, and covenanting is only possible because God is renewing his mercy, forgiving his people: "If we believe not, yet abideth faithful: he cannot deny himself" (2 Tim 2.13).

Waiting for Justice and Peace with New Hope

Speaking of Christianity in need, there is a strong tradition of looking at spiritual tradition in terms of warfare. The cross of Jesus Christ for St. Paul is the locus of God's decisive victory in the struggle against evil forces (cf. Col 2.15); and the resurrection of Christ is the "first-fruit" of that victory in the world. The warfare continues until all powers are brought under the feet of Christ and God shall be all and in all (cf. 1 Cor 15.20-28). Meanwhile, Christians have to put on the whole armor of God to fight against evil forces and the spiritual hosts of darkness still operating in the world (cf. Eph 6.17).

Today the passion of the mystical Christ, embodied in the lives of those Christians who have sacrificed themselves for the cause of justice, preserves the same structure as the passion of the historical Jesus. Like Jesus, many people today are persecuted, killed or imprisoned because they defend the rights of the lowly and the just claims of the poor. They suffer this fate out of fidelity to God, who asks them to sacrifice their lives for those causes. Those causes are greater than life itself because they are the causes of God and God's kingdom. These people prefer to glory of a violent death to the joy of an accursed freedom, as a Christian martyr of the third century put it.

The resurrection of the crucified Jesus proves that the sacrifice of one's life, out of love for the down-trodden and abused, is not meaningless. It means sharing in the fullness of life and the definitive triumph of justice. The Crucified One is the Living One. Those who

are crucified will also live.

The agonizing question which Christians around the world and particularly the Orthodox have to face — and which many of them are courageously facing though others seek to ignore it — is this: What is more important, the ultimate triumph of conformism to one's society — in its totality and integrity — or the creation of a new *koinonia* in which bitter memories are reconciled and new ways of relating to the other members of the body of Christ are realized?

Christians have inherited a tradition of martyrdom, of being willing to suffer and die for their faith and their homeland. They find it more difficult to *live* for it. They do of course recognize that love (*agape*) is more important than anything else. But love is too often something which must be expressed in one's own way. At the time of the Roman persecutions and later of the Inquisition, love for the soul of a heretic was expressed by burning of his body; sometime today, similarly, love may be expressed by explicit or implicit proselytism. It is much more difficult to establish new patterns of *koinonia*, to move forward together in the spirit of fellowship and Christian love. Most Christians share Saint Paul's belief that although the verbalization of our "orthodoxy" may be angelic, if we have not love (*agape*), we are "noisy gongs or clanging symbols." Yet there can come a point where if Christians feel their existence is threatened, and therefore also their power of witnessing to the truth as they see it, they will view themselves as martyrs, and will see their first duty as protest and bear verbal witness, rather than as love for those who threaten them. And the only way in which they can be released from their situation is for the "threatener" to convince them that they are not threatened: that they are free to witness and act as they please.

We live in a world that, once again, has made a covenant with death. But we live here as witnesses to a God who has made a covenant with life. The new covenant in the life blood of Jesus is God's ratification and renewal of God's ancient creational *Amen* to life; it is the final seal on the divine determination to mend the creation. Christians who have discerned the signs of our times know that their gospel, therefore, stands in direct confrontation with the dominating spirit of our age, that spirit emanating from the bargaining with death. The mask of life, which death-serving empires heretofore have sometimes worn with deceptive grace, has in our time been pulled off.

The unity of humanity, shattered by human pride, by the lust to possess the creation, and therefore by death — the state of death which

results from the separation — is restored by Christ. Christ is separated from nothing and no one. Through the eucharist we enter into this immense unity; we are all members of one another, responsible for each other, each of us bears the whole of humanity with us. The eucharistic bread does more than establish a bond between the risen Christ and each one of us, more than bring the visible unity of the church into being. It also introduces us to the real unity of all humanity. Shared, it makes us sharers.

People in this twentieth century have witnessed a strong wave of liberation movements; this has created a number of independent states and many of them have thrown off the centuries-old yoke of foreign domination. This process continues today; however, we still feel that human evil will try to hinder this inevitable historical process. Sometimes industrial states try to impose on developing countries their internal development which would ensure the perpetuation of underdevelopment. Today, human beings still suffer from racial discrimination, apartheid, and other forms of human humiliation and indignity.

Daily we live in contact with other people in this world, and this is often considered as “dangerous,” and dangerous it certainly is, if our own knowledge and vision of Orthodoxy in the world is weak. But it is also a unique opportunity, without precedent, to know and understand the *Western* Christian world (if there still is one) and the rest of the world. We are seeing today a new openness towards the world, which must be realized on the basis of values and truths of human life and in common actions and decisions. In this case, the “openness” lacks the conviction that knowledge of the full truth which is given in Christianity and has become accessible only to the community of the church in Christ, is only realized through him and the power of the Holy Spirit. This road towards the new hopes of transformation of human life is difficult, but it is the only right one, through the Christian message, not simply because it is the “middle” road but mainly because it reflects the truly catholic spirit of the Christian faith.

Salvation has two dimensions for the Christian, the transcendent and the immanent. Without peace with God, there can be no true peace with humanity. Converting hearts remains a presupposition for a better world. There is no new humanity until there are new persons. Thus, speaking of the inner-worldly, the vertical dimension of Christianity should be described as: faith and prayer, church and

sacraments, death and eternal life — as we have always done. At the same time, however, we cannot forget the horizontal dimension. We should not be inhibited in encouraging youth in their struggles for new values and transformation of life and their concerns for justice, peace, disarmament and ecology in the world. Peace as transformation means, finally, that we proclaim solidarity with the rest of the world and bridge the gap between the rich and the poor.

The major task of Christians, therefore, should not be “empty,” general talk about justice and peace, but primarily efforts in favour of human rights and the restoration of conditions which would make mutual confidence possible and war unthinkable. This is not empty moralism, but the only realistic approach to the problems of justice, peace and disarmament. There will always be the danger of war as long as justice and peace are forgotten and human freedom is curtailed. Peace and justice are inseparable from this openness and confidence.

In concluding it can be said that the church that lives in *koinonia* and renews itself will no longer see its prime function only in terms of institutional closeness, but rather in the service and *diakonia* of Christ’s message for the world. We do well to “eirenomatize” the world and together with Jesus be a witness of that God and Father who is “God of peace” (1 Thes 5.23).

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to be sure that people who come to the Orthodox Church do so because they seek Christ. It is misleading and spiritually dangerous to convert people to the Orthodox Church without converting them to Christ. Further, the prominence given to Scripture is helpful not only to those people who come to the Church from Protestant backgrounds and who know only the Scriptures, but also to those Orthodox Christians whose knowledge of the Scriptures is all too often lacking.

The second merit is reaped by those of us who study or teach theology: *The Living God* points toward an Orthodox paradigm for the work of theology. That is to say, it overcomes, or simply ignores, the Western distinction, so unhealthy to Orthodox theology, between faith and reason, to which those of us born, raised, and/or educated in the West so commonly assent. It does so by forcing theology (and scriptural exegesis, catechesis, and iconography) to serve the "one thing needful," the salvation of souls, by restoring theology to the (liturgical) life of the Church as its proper soil. To borrow a phrase from the Southern writer Marion Montgomery, the liturgical life of the Church cleans the air of "those floating spores" of Western theology "we yet daily breathe to our continuing discomfort." We can seldom go wrong if we are rooted in the life of the Church and breathe its purified air.

All of the merits of *The Living God* which have been presented ought to insure the book's wide circulation and use. On the basis of its superior organization and Christocentric focus alone, it should supplant other introductory texts on the Orthodox Church, including such classics as Timothy Ware's. For anyone involved in catechesis, either in teaching others or in teaching oneself, *The Living God* is absolutely essential.

Michael Butler

Justice in an Unjust World: Foundations for a Christian Approach to Justice. By Karen Lebacqz. Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1987. Pp. 192.

There are several unique and interesting dimensions presented in this work on the topic of justice by a respected Christian ethicist. Written from the perspective of liberation theology for a first world audience, the author selected a methodological approach which seeks

to discover the meaning of justice by dealing primarily with the experience of injustice, hence the juxtaposition of the concepts of "justice" and an "unjust world" in the title.

From the perspective of liberation theology and ethics, this volume might be understood as a mediating volume between the author's primary audience which is privileged in regard to material benefits, and those who speak out of the depths of deprivation and suffering. It is a successful interpretation of the liberation theological approach to the issues of injustice and justice. But it is more than that. It is also an effort to formulate the issues in a new and different way. And in this, too, it is successful. It is another question, whether the effort at clarifying the idea justice has been fully successful. Nevertheless, it is certainly a provocative and stimulating approach which will need to be addressed in the future by Christian ethicists and others. The most important aspect of this approach is the heuristic use of "injustice." The author has based her work on the presupposition that the meaning of justice can be discovered by beginning not with a rational, analytical approach, but by examining the experience of injustice in concrete situations.

Lebacqz consciously places herself in the liberation theology tradition: "I consider my own approach to be an instance of 'liberation' theology and ethics" (p. 159). So it surprises no one that the first part of the volume which she calls "jeopardy" (in an alliterative pattern of part and chapter titles) begins with the experience of those who suffer and report injustice in their own experience. The balance of the first part of the book builds on the "rue" of Christian complicity in injustice and begins the formulation of her thoughts regarding injustice and justice.

Drawing on her previous volume *Six Theories of Justice*, she rejects the investigation of the topic of justice in writers such as John Rawls and Robert Nozick, especially criticizes their perceived individualism, their failure to account for the different epistemological perspectives of the oppressed and the oppressors, and their attributing to reason a disproportional role in the searching out the meaning of justice. History, class analysis, the preferential claim of the poor are some of the major elements of her analysis: "A new reason is needed — one that hears the screams and rips the blindfold from our eyes" (p. 57).

To this she brings revelation — the Bible — in the mode of storytelling to illuminate the present situation of injustice — not justice —

both as experience and as a heuristic device. There is here a repudiation of a legalistic use of the Scriptures toward a perspective which lifts up the centrality of relationship in the biblical ethic. Thus, from this liberation perspective of the oppressed" (p. 66). In Part Two, "Justice" we are treated to a series of short Bible studies which serve not only to further the argument, but also to illustrate the method. In reference to God and the experience of injustice, the Exodus as a liberation experience is developed as the primary ethical reality. "God as Liberator" is the summary of its theological base. The Job story is told to lead the reader to accept that one essential response to injustice in the face of God's silence is that, in a synergistic way, humans must assume responsibility for overcoming the injustice which they suffer.

Thus, this method examines other injustice stories in the biblical corpus: the lesson of "Naboth's Vineyard" is the requirement that the oppressor be rebuked; the "Tale of Zacchaeus" speaks of the demand for action, i.e., economic redistribution; the "rainbow" of the Noah covenant "is a sign . . . of mutual responsibility and accountability" (p. 85). All this is summarized alliteratively in the phrases which title the various chapters: rescue, reticence, rebuke, requisition, and the rainbow of mutual responsibility. In these there are normative requirements both for the oppressed and the oppressors.

That all this is not simply a literary restatement of other theories of justice comes to the fore clearly in the third part "Jubilee," where the Old Testament "jubilee" tradition is examined as an image which provokes the reversal of injustice. This is an extremely honest and provocative section, which does not unrealistically posit utopian expectations. It is complete with a story of an effort to overcome injustice which only partially succeeds and then finally fails.

The last chapter in Part Three seeks to sketch out a theory of justice drawn from the preceding examination of injustice. Not surprisingly, these pages are the least satisfactory from the perspective of a theory of justice. Even with a "jubilee" approach to the restoration of justice for the oppressed, "it will be limited by human vision and by human sin. Every partial justice will be at the same time a partial injustice. Every corrective of injustice brings a tentative justice capable of still greater perfection" (pp. 149-50).

Obviously, from a position whose presuppositions are radically removed from the "liberation theology" perspective of this volume, many criticisms could be raised "from outside." I will be content

with some comments which may help the author address what may be genuine weaknesses in the argument. The chief one, it seems to me, is the basic assumption that the whole of the Christian truth is essentially and substantively captured by the "justice-injustice" dynamic. Lebacqz says, "justice itself is a sufficient category to express the fullness of God's reign" (p. 135). This is said in the context of a discussion on love and justice. But certainly the Gospels and the Pauline corpus have a totally different focus: the grace of salvation is not only contrasted with justice, but love is proclaimed supreme over all other values. Is this why the preponderance of biblical examples are drawn from the Old Testament and not the New? There is only one passing reference to the powerful, consistent and radical patristic demands regarding the justice/injustice question (p. 151). These demands came, not from a liberation theology exegesis of Scripture, but one rooted in the larger picture of revelation, including a trinitarian theology of God, a soteriology rooted in the divine-human person and work of Christ, a sacramental and eschatological perspective. These are not absent from this approach, but they certainly do not play much of a major role in the development of the argument. Is it adequate to the full range of the Christian experience to reduce its whole message to this one issue, as important as it is?

I would commend the author for her efforts in moving the discussion of injustice and justice from an individualistic focus so characteristic of western approaches. However, it may be that the movement to the communitarian is still not adequate. Let me illustrate. Nearly all of the examples presented in part one of the book are individual experiences and the generalizations drawn from them carry the same individual connotations. Racism, ethnic injustice, sexual injustice, political injustice, economic injustice, and cultural injustice tend to be cast by the very dynamics of the method of listening to people's stories in the matrix of individual rights and the violation of those rights. Certainly there is much truth there which is told with power. But juxtaposing these individually cast claims for justice with respect for the integrity of existing cultural traditions such as those of the American Indians and slaves, flies in the face of the fact that traditional societies hold together in social networks which often appear to violate the injustice understandings of western individualism. The place of women, for instance, in traditional societies (which Lebacqz explains as a sort of brain-washing) cannot be dealt with on individualistic bases without disrupting those traditional societies

for which respect is also claimed. The problem is, without question, difficult to resolve. I would hope, however, that the "justice corrective" proposed would move further in the direction of recognizing the social matrix in which all these relationships must be evaluated. It is, of course, legitimate to limit one's sphere of concern to what is most familiar and directly applicable. So the limitation of the material to the Western hemisphere and to South Africa for illustrative material is understandable. But some of the assumptions, for instance, about Nicaraguan situation, are not complete without an assessment of the socialist realities which are being proposed there by the Sandanistas. Those of us who are part of a religious tradition which has been decimated, oppressed, and martyred in some of those nations which have adopted so-called dictatorships of the proletariat, may also have a perspective informed by our oppression, which certainly will not make judgments about the Nicaraguan situation so one-sided. I would hope that future versions of this volume or other writings will not so thoroughly overlook the impact of this suffering. Our experience counts, too. Why is it so thoroughly ignored in the Western liberal scholarly tradition?

Finally, this is a book which is in many ways enlightening and challenging; it is an enlightening interpretation of the liberation ethic, a sobering challenge, and an insight into a fine mind honestly grappling with almost insoluble problems. The book deserves study and discussion. All who read it will remain indebted to the author.

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Love and Sexuality in the Image of Divine Love

JOHN CHRYSSAVGIS

SEXUAL LOVE HAS A GREAT MULTITUDE OF FACETS, IMPLYING MANY experiences, attitudes, relations. I shall not analyze such known, distinctive notions as affection (*storge*), friendship (*philia*), charity (*agape*), and *eros* which tend to be taken as isolated, ready-made notions. My purpose is to focus on love as a pervasive vital force in human nature.¹

The Divine Origin of Love

Christianity affirms that love constitutes man's inner being. The trinitarian God is a God of personal relations. When John says that "God is love" (1 Jn 4.8,16), love is assumed to be an ontological reality inherent in both God and man, who is created in the likeness of God. The beauty and freedom of the human person, Nicholas Berdyaev observes, is God himself. Some nineteenth century poets, for instance Browning, speak of love as identical with sanctification. God himself is our archetype of love. It is he, "the creator of all . . . who out of extreme erotic love moves outside himself . . . (and approaches humanity), burning with great goodness and love and *eros*."² It is he who is "the fullness of erotic love."³ And it is supreme love that moved God to create man in his image and likeness.⁴ "As lover he

¹ For a lucid anatomy of love, see C. S. Lewis, *The Four Loves* (Glasgow, 1960).

² Dionysios, *On the Divine Names* 4, 12 PG 3.712AB.

³ Cf. Dionysios, *Ibid.* 4,12-14, PG 3.709BC and Maximos, *Commentary on the Divine Names* 4, 17 PG 4.269CD.

⁴ *Ibid.* 4.261B.

creates; and as loved he attracts all towards him.”⁵ “As a mad lover he desires his beloved human soul,” says Nilos.⁶ “Herein is love, not that we loved God but that he loved us” (1 Jn 4.10).

Human love, just as man himself, as woman herself, can be a glorious image of divine love. Nothing less than that, but also not more. The Christian way of life is marked by a striking paradox: God approaches one when one is least like God. Humility enables one to love. In recognizing one’s limitations one is able to transcend them. “Etiam peccata,” says Augustine: through our sins, more precisely through our frailty, we are led to perfection. We are cleansed through fire (Ps 65.12). Weakness, infirmity, imperfection drive us to God, who himself wants “all mankind to be saved” (1 Tim 2.4). “The mercy of the Lord runneth after us all the days of our lives” (Ps 22.6), “for his mercy endureth for ever” (Ps 135). Hence, very early in its existence the Church had to decide whether it was to be, here on earth, a community for imperfect, yet complete, indivisible, religionists. It did not choose the latter.

Unfortunately a great deal of our discourse on sexual love is tainted not so much by wrong ideas (and practices) as by a dissociation of sensibility, a dissection of life, where physical activity is detached from the life of the spirit, or the life of the spirit is detached from bodily experience. Hence *eros* appears as a debased form of love, if not as its direct opposite. Yet loving desire is a latent spiritual energy, an inherent God-given force, rooted in divine life itself. To come to terms with sexuality is largely a matter of recognising that it is bound by God to the deepest and most creative aspects of human nature.

Love as Eros

Eros or sexuality today has become a mere diversion in life, determined by sensual appetite. When one is hungry one eats; when one feels a sexual urge one acts as one pleases. But this leads merely to the trivialization of sex, and trivial sex serves to dehumanize personality. The exercise of sexual powers involves our whole personality, rather than being a mere function of the biological organism. It also

⁵ Maximos, *On Various Questions* PG 91.1260. Cf. also Dionysios, *On the Divine Names* 4, 10.

⁶ PG 79.464.

involves the personality of another human being. Love implies openness to the other. We are all in need of others, whether physically, emotionally, or intellectually. We need them if we are to do anything — even in order to be born. We need them if we are to know anything — even ourselves. No human being is an island: “for it is not good for man to be alone” (Gen 2.18). It is this which gives a sense of freedom in sexual experience, of divine spontaneity and delight in the other, even though it may also contain possibilities of damage and destruction.

Theologians often express the fear that love of this kind leads to idolatry or self indulgence, or both. This fear may account for the moralism and legalism of much theological discourse on sex, and indeed for the excessively solemn and unctuous tone of it. The real danger however is not so much that lovers might idolize each other but that they might idolize love itself rather than the loved one, and erect a self-sufficient system of its own, a fetishism. True, there is a lure to idolize another person, too, if that other person (a spouse, a parent, a friend) turns into a substitute of God, a self-sufficient “rival” to God (Lk 14.26). Yet the real nature of love is to move beyond oneself, and in a way beyond the beloved person. Dionysios the Areopagite, writing in the fifth century, employs the word “eros” to describe this movement, because it denotes the element of “ecstasy,” of self-transcendence: ecstatic.⁷ Dionysios evidently tries to stave off possible objections to the idea of *eros* among the moralists of his own time. But he insists on it. Later on, Maximos the Confessor depicts the whole universe as erotically responding to God, engaged in a ceaseless erotic dialogue with him.

It is significant that the scriptural understanding of history is of a dynamic realization of a love relationship: the “chosen people” of God in the Old Testament was his bride, whether faithful or unfaithful through time. Similarly, love, *eros* is an index of knowledge. To know is not merely to register items of information, but to participate in, to share personally, to open up lovingly to, the object of knowledge. It is in this sense that Saint Paul speaks of divine knowledge as a “person to person” experience (1 Cor 13.12), in which one “knows God, or rather is known by God” (Gal 4.9).

Speaking of human love, one must recognize that life is full of

⁷ *On the Divine Names* 4, 12 PG 3.709B.

people who are deeply wounded in an infinite variety of ways, including the ways of love, and of sexual love. We do not know whether the wounds and the damage could always have been avoided. The only means of not being taken in by any gamble over the issue for a Christian is to preserve his (her) fidelity to the vision of men and women true to themselves in their wholeness and freedom. They are not likely to do so by way of so-called "return to nature," whether in the Rousseauesque sense or in the form of contemporary sexual "liberation." They will regain true nature and be liberated if they accept a view of sex as a way of transfiguration, as a love which is more powerful than death (S of S 8.6), affirming as it does to the limit the life of the lover and the beloved in their supreme inter-relation.

It cannot be stressed too much that the omission of the sense of person-to-person relationship in the love between man and woman leads to a defective understanding of it, and indeed to its undoing. With the disappearance of the sense of the real personality and the needs of the partner, he (she) turns into an object, and hence a victim. As already noted, love is not mere gratification of hunger. It is above all a self-giving. It is also a sacrifice, whose archetype is Golgotha, involving losing one's life in order to gain it. Love as mere lust, as appropriation and exploitation creates a gulf between man and woman and leaves one deeply alone. This "exploitative" tendency in love accounts greatly for the degradation of woman, not only in connection with the economic acquisitiveness which plagues our society but also in the ecclesiastical milieu. Even Saint Paul, no doubt for different reasons, clearly had a poor view of women, or, for that matter, of marriage — as an alternative to "burning." The same applies in a measure to monastic circles (more about monasticism see below). Yet none other than Paul himself speaks of the body as the temple of the Holy Spirit, insisting that the body, no less than the mind and soul belong finally to God and find their fulfilment in him.

In the last analysis it is the Church which served to unlock the meaning of sexuality by declaring marriage to be a sacrament. But well before the "sacrament" was adopted as an ordinance by the Christian Church, in preliterate societies and in ancient Greece, in the ancient Near East and the Indo-Iranian world, material means were viewed as channels of spiritual power. In particular nuptial intercourse was given a sacred, mysterious significance, indicating spiritual potency transmitted through sexuality. It could be a sinister and

ominous force, or, as in the Christian sacrament, an event imparting saving grace and a pledge of a covenant relationship with the sacred order. Later Augustinian theology which was dominant in the West, first linked original sin with human sexuality, implying, as in Neoplatonism, that man's return to God must be through escape from the human body.⁸ The underlying mind-body dichotomy, which on the whole was quite alien to the Eastern patristic tradition, had a particularly damaging effect on human relations where sex was concerned, turning sex into a legitimate mechanism for the continuation of the human race. Admittedly, Aquinas and earlier medieval theologians, such as William of Thierry, acknowledge the significance of friendship — in marriage or otherwise — as a spiritualised form of love, but there is no recognition of the intrinsic sacramental nature of sexual relationship. Later — Theresa of Avila and John of the Cross are cases in point — there is a great deal of sublimated sex, but it strikes one as an exercise, at times a heroic exercise, in intensified disembodiment. In the Renaissance, the "rediscovery of the body," paradoxically combined with a cult of virginity, did not fundamentally change the trend towards the dematerialization of sex, while carnal desire became objectivised to the point of losing all contact with human reality.

Nowadays, there is of course no lack of sex. But by and large the more sex, the less passion; or, rather, the more multiple sex is, the less there is belief in its power. Given the state of society, some such equation is perhaps irresistible. The gods have been isolated, displayed, advertised, examined, analysed, deposed. The old fear or the old wonder has given way to disbelief — a sort of erotic atheism, rational, invulnerable and more than a little smug. The suggestion that sex could matter distresses; that it could enchant, spellbind, wound, sear, perhaps even destroy — appalls. Love, communion, consummation, soul, for God's sake? What lamentable naivete about human motivation! Meanwhile, sex, together with all other human relations, becomes empty. To fill the vacuum is to recover the ultimate, "sacramental" ground of love in self-giving, as Christ gave himself. The opposite of giving is exploiting: to exploit is to withhold. So far

⁸ Cf. D. S. Bailey, *The Man-Woman Relationship in Christian Thought* (London, 1959) and P. Sherrard, *Christianity and Eros* (London, 1976). Augustine and Aquinas go as far as to state that woman was created solely for purposes of procreation.

Freud was right, when he claimed that evil consists in refusing to give through fear masquerading as morality, or other respectable disguise. Many Christians use their Christianity for this purpose. What however eluded Freud (or for that matter Nietzsche in a similar context) was the basis of Christ's quarrel with the Pharisees. The Pharisee is a pious fraud, upright perhaps, conscientious and God-fearing, but making himself good by using God and using other people as allies for the self, which maintains and increases a division of personality and generates the illusion that he is whole and has no need of the physician. Christ pricked the bubble of this pretension.

The Approach of the Church Fathers

Sexuality cannot be reduced to intercourse, or to procreation, or to concupiscence: in any case, for the Christian concupiscence involves what has been committed "in the heart." The heart in the scriptural and patristic sense includes not only the sensations, but also feelings and affections. It is an all-embracing notion, virtually synonymous with the human person, and hence includes the body. The Eastern Fathers at the very beginning can be described as "materialist."⁹ They spoke, as already noted, of human personality as an integrated whole, which includes bodily manifestations. According to patristic theology, there occurred a breach in man's natural state: this is known as the fall into corruption and death. The fall is "unnatural," contrary to God's design about nature. To endorse the existing condition of human life as natural is to ascribe to God the responsibility for the evil and sins in the world. The difficult problem of theodicy cannot be discussed here. What is important in the present context is to affirm that what God created is essentially "good": "and God saw that it was good" (Gen 1.13). So is sex. We shall never gain any understanding of the ethical problems involved if we treat sex as a detachable entity which can be dealt with on its own. I have already referred to Saint Paul's view in the matter, as well as to the attitude of the Church. The Church appears austere in regard to sex. It certainly repudiates casual sex, promiscuity. This cannot be otherwise so long as the Church holds to its view of the ultimate value and wholeness of persons, of sex founded on deep personal relations. But

⁹ Cf., for example, *On the Resurrection of the Flesh* by Tertullian.

it is not concerned principally with negative prohibitions. It does not impose chains and fetters. It seeks to protect human freedom. This is why the Christian East never made celibacy obligatory for the priesthood: it eschewed a eunuchized priesthood. Significantly the Scriptures, in representing the love between God and man, almost entirely ignore angelic imagery and go straight for the images of real, tangible love, speaking of bride and bridegroom, of marriage, of union and communion. The same symbolism is stamped on participants in the Eucharist, in which divine activity is communicated to the Body of Christ in Christian worship, as they identify themselves afresh with Christ: "Thou hast smitten me with yearning, O Christ, and with thy divine love hast thou changed me; but do thou burn away with thy spiritual fire my sins."

For the Fathers of the Church, life is inherently, intrinsically, and intensely communal, inter-personal, eucharistic. "From our neighbor is life and from our neighbor is death," states Antony of Egypt (215-356).¹⁰ For some the "other" is a real or a potential threat: "l'enfer c'est l'autre" (Sartre). For the Christian "l'autre" is a "neighbor," and *alter ego*, a beloved. Loving means caring; loving means trust and dependence, meeting and encounter, respect and knowledge. Loving means humility which puts the lover beneath all creatures (see Rom 9.3), in contradistinction to the superior "philosophical" love which looks down condolently on others, or even to the "humanitarian" altruistic love which regards others as equals, at most.

The Sacrament of Marriage

Marriage must surely be more than a social or even an ecclesiastical institution concerned with the welfare of a family, and with its survival and continuation in a divided world. Love can never be exclusive; it is by its very nature all-inclusive. The bourgeois conception of the family as a tightly-knit, self-contained unit hardly differs from self-absorbed individualism, except that it broadens the range.

And the Church does not idealise the family. It tends to use it

¹⁰*The Sayings of the Desert Fathers* (Alphabetical Collection) Anthony 9. Cf. also, for example, Basil the Great, *Longer Rules* 3, 1: "For nothing is so characteristic of our nature as to communicate with one another, and to need one another, and to love our own kind." Cf. also *Makarian Homilies* 37, 3.

as an image, a type. Through it the Church Fathers perceived a dynamic element in the family, leading to freedom, to love, to eucharistic communion. For the Church, what is important is not whether this or that couple are quarrelling or not, or are in each other's arms, but whether they are capable of living an eucharistic relationship, which provides the prototype for marriage as a sacrament. Thus sexual love is dealt with on a level different from that normally considered.

This does not imply the dualistic notion that the essence of marriage is a quasimetaphysical entity, constituted by the sacrament, which endures quite independently of the actual quality of the personal relationship, or any indication that it may for all practical purposes be non-existent. The reality is affected by the existential facts; marriage is not indelible, regardless. But in giving marriage the status of a mystery, a sacrament, the Church shows it as a way of life and love, as a God-given reality, mediating the meeting between the eternal and the temporal. What concerns the Church is nothing less than salvation, the sanctification of every person, every relationship, everything — to the last speck of dust. This is why even our food and drink is transmuted into the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament of the Eucharist.

It is questionable how many today really understand this kind of language about marriage or believe that, as the saying goes, "marriages are made in heaven." In a consumer society it is natural for marriage to become a matter of mutual consumption. In fact, it is surprising that marriage still exercises so much fascination, despite "pre-marital sex," despite trial marriages, despite marriages of wholesale and retail convenience. But marriage can and must be defended on other grounds — "situationally, not prescriptively" (in the words of an American moralist), in terms of the fact that persons matter, that love matters, that the deepest welfare of particular persons in the particular situation of marriage matters, rather than any legal codes, conveniences, and appetites. This is the reality underlying the comparison of the union in marriage to the communion between Christ and the Church (Eph 5.32), and providing marriage with the quality of a mystery, a sacrament.

The Sacrament of Monasticism

Love is never satisfied; it can only be fulfilled. This fulfilment

is to be found in the act of giving, not in covetousness. In this sense monasticism can be seen as correlative to marriage: it, too, is a way of fulfilment in love, even if monastic chastity may have contributed to the devaluation of marriage in expectation of the *parousia* or the Second Coming of Christ. According to Gregory of Nyssa, divine love cannot be achieved without chastity.¹¹ What is at issue however is not just abstention from sex, not extinction of what, after all, is the most vital response to life, but a redirection to its origin, to its divine sources. This may not be easily grasped, except by a diminishing religious remnant; but at least it can be approached with a degree of respect as a unique and chosen way of life, just as one would expect the sacred and intimate relations between lovers to be respected.

Personal love pervades the experience of true monasticism: "a true monk," says John of the Ladder (seventh century), "weeps for the sins of each of his brethren, and rejoices over the progress of each."¹² Human beings are seen as essentially members of one another. Created in the image of the Holy Trinity, the human person becomes truly personal in relation to others. This perception is as true of the monk or nun as it is of a married person. The element of withdrawal in monasticism, ostensibly negative, is no abdication of social responsibility. As a matter of historical fact, monks have even acquired, at different times and in various places, a predominant, even privileged role in the exercise of temporal as well as spiritual power. Basically, however, monasticism, just as marriage, is a sacrament of love, directed towards the fulfilment of the Gospel commandment to love God and one's neighbor.¹³ Love is greater than any ascetic feat; it is even greater than prayer.¹⁴ A single vivid experience of *eros* would advance one further in spiritual life, would be more effective, than the most arduous struggle against the passions and the most severe ascetic methods. Indeed the purpose of all ascetic endeavor is said to be love.¹⁵ A single flame of love burning in the world is sufficient to spark off a cosmic fire. One person burning

¹¹Gregory of Nyssa composed an entire treatise *On Virginity* as the first step in one's return to the unfallen condition.

¹²*Ladder of Divine Ascent* 4, PG 88.705A. Cf. also Athanasios, *Life of Anthony* 2 and Pachomios, *First Greek Life* 4-5.

¹³Basil the Great, *Letter* 207, 2.

¹⁴Cf. John Klimakos, *Ladder* 26.43.

¹⁵Diadochos, *Gnostic Centuries* 40.

with love in the world can bring about the reconciliation with God (Gen 18).¹⁶

It is not surprising that so much struggle, even suffering, goes towards the reclamation and transfiguration of man's sexuality in Christ; it is not surprising that the attempt to realise and redirect the vital, compulsive drives of human nature is attended by many mutilations and distortions. When pleasure (ἡδονή) in spiritual life is diverted, sexuality brings pain in its wake — physical, emotional, and mental pain (δδύνη).¹⁷ This is seen not as "punishment," but as a divine chance, a challenge, even a key moment in the continual struggle on the monk's pathway. The aim, according to some, is dispassion; and according to others, paradoxically, passion. Throughout there is a continuous play on the image of erotic love.¹⁸ They speak of husbands being jealous of their wives, of God's love being greater than the love of a mother for her child, her own flesh.¹⁹ There is an early text (the *Shepherd* of Hermas), where "pleasures [are said to be] able to save people."²⁰ In the end, *eros* turns out to be no longer a mere image or symbol but a vital energy, a way, a prototype or mode of existence. Such is the case of John Klimakos, who speaks of τύπος and ὑπόδειγμα:

As an example of the fear of the Lord, let us take the fear that we feel in the presence of rulers and wild beasts; and as an example (*hypodeigma*) of desire for God, let carnal love serve as a mode (*typos*) for you. There is nothing against taking (*poieisthai imas*) examples of the virtues from what is contrary (*enantion*).²¹ The words "ποιεῖσθαι ἡμῶς" show that carnal love is not good in itself but must be "made" good; the word "ἐναντίον" shows clearly that for Klimakos there is both contrast and analogy between carnal and divine love. With this qualification, Klimakos' *Ladder* uses the vivid

¹⁶*Sayings of the Desert Fathers* 14 PG 65.165.

¹⁷Maximos, *Questions to Thalassios*. 61 PG 90.628A-29D.

¹⁸Cf. John Klimakos, *Ladder* 30.9 PG 88.1157, *Mak. Hom.* 9,9 which speaks of "thirst" and "desire," and Diadochos, *Cent.* 8.

¹⁹John Klimakos, *Ladder* 30.5 (1156C) and 11 (1157AC). Cf. also, Dorotheus, *Sayings* 14 (p. 528) and Symeon the New Theologian, *Eth.* 4.

²⁰*Shepherd*, Book 3, Sim. 6, Ch. 5.

²¹26.31 (1024BC). Cf. also, C. Yannaras, *Ἡ Μεταφυσική τοῦ σώματος* (Athens, 1971), pp. 149-66: I believe that Dr. Yannaras does not emphasise sufficiently the qualification (made below) of *poieisthai imas* and *enantion*.

language of lovers: "Blessed is he who has obtained such love and yearning for God as a mad lover has for his beloved."²²

Eros, passionate in its desire (cf. Dan 9.3 and Wis of Sol 8.2), throws lights on aberrant (cf. Is 5.4; Jer 2.21) or harmful passions: they are not to be suppressed or silenced but transposed, moulded, illuminated, put on their right and natural course. In the monastic context, passions are dealt with differently: they are to be transcended by the conquest of greater and divine passions. The monk makes a leap, turns all his passion towards the Deity (cf. Prov 4.27) and lays all his effort of love at the feet of the Lord: "I have seen hesychasts who insatiably nourished their flaming desire for God through prayer (stillness), generating fire by fire, *eros* by *eros*, desire by desire." In this erotic course dispassion itself becomes a passion. Perhaps a world reduced to "flesh" is a small and narrow world by comparison with the world of *such* passion.

With reference to such moral issues, it is not possible to offer simple solutions, answers in the form of objective recipes. Otherwise, one is doing away with the fundamental principle of human freedom. The Church, too, knows of no such recipes. Instead, it recognizes the significance of a spiritual guide who does not so much give orders as remind one of the truth that life is personal. For the Church respects the dignity of the human person even when he fails. Isaak the Syrian persistently asks from God that he be able to recognize and accept the humility (or humiliation) of his nature with pleasure.

Only in the Church is our failure, our sin accepted. One cannot dare to sin in a political party. Yet the Church starts precisely from the reality of sin — the only offering one is really able to make. It is in Christ that death is conquered, that one's individual hell is transformed into heaven, into Church. For hell is abolished in Christ and in love. Whether we enter heaven or hell no longer depends on our merits but on our faith and love.²³ Hell is the absence of personal love: it is, in Dostoyevsky's description, being bound up back-to-back with a person and never being able to encounter his face. Ultimately, the failure to place sexuality in its full sacramental context

²²Cf. 30.5 (1024BC).

²³Cf. Dionysios, *Letter* 8 PG 3.1085.

leads either to its idealisation or to its abuse.

Since love is characteristic of human nature as created by God and since man is in a fallen state, love is at once something already granted by God and yet something for which one must strive. It is both a starting-point and an end-point. Whether a monk or a married person, one must continually struggle to become what one already is.

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Message on Environmental Protection Day

HIS ALL HOLINESS, THE ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH DIMITRIOS

THE ECUMENICAL THRONE OF ORTHODOXY CONTINUOUSLY SEEKS TO express and protect the eternal spirit of the tradition of the Fathers and does so as the faithful interpreter of the eucharistic and liturgical way of life of the Orthodox Church. Thus, it is with great anxiety that the Ecumenical Patriarchate observes the merciless pollution and destruction of the natural environment by humanity. This phenomenon of our day is producing consequences which are extremely dangerous, for they threaten the preservation of the natural world which was created by God. The abuse by contemporary humanity of its privileged position in the creation, and the betrayal of the trust given us by the Creator, that humanity exercise "dominion over the earth" (Gen 1.28), has already led the world to the brink of an apocalyptic self-destruction. This threatened devastation comes either in a form which attacks all living beings through the pollution of nature, or in a form which has already destroyed many species of the animal and plant kingdom, or in various other kinds of actions. Scientists and other scholars sound the note of danger. They speak concerning phenomena which may destroy life on our planet. For example, we are warned of what is called "the hot house effect," whose first consequences have already been observed.

In the face of such a situation, the Church of Christ cannot remain unmoved. It is a fundamental doctrine of the Church's faith that the world was created by God the Father, who is confessed in the Creed as the "Creator of Heaven and Earth, and of all things visible and invisible." According to the great Fathers of the Church, humanity

was created as the prince of creation and endowed with the privilege of freedom, so as to participate concurrently in both the material and the spiritual worlds. Humanity was created, also, in order to offer the creation to the Creator, so that creation itself should be saved from corruption and death.

Following the failure and fall of the first Adam, this noble destiny of humankind was fulfilled by the "Last Adam," that is, by the Incarnate Son and Word of God, our Lord Jesus Christ. He united created physical reality with the uncreated God in His own person. Jesus Christ continuously offers this creation as an eternal eucharistic Anaphora — an offering to the Father. In every Divine Liturgy, the Church continues this Anaphora and this offering of the Lord in the form of Bread and Wine, that is, with elements of the created world. Through this means the Church unceasingly expresses the truth that human beings not oppress creation as if we were its possessor. Rather, God intends that humanity act as a priest of the creation, as its steward, cultivating it lovingly, and offering it with reverence and respect in thanksgiving to the Creator.

But in our days, unfortunately, humankind is influenced by an extreme rationalism and hedonism. It has lost the sense of the holiness of creation and acts as an uncontrolled despot and barbarian exploiter of creation. In the place of the eucharistic and ascetic spirit in which the Orthodox Church has nurtured its members over the centuries, we see today the violation of nature for the sake of the fulfillment not of the basic needs of humankind, but for the satisfaction of an unending and continuously increasing series of desires and appetites. These selfish cravings are encouraged by the dominant philosophy of a consumer society.

But creation "groans and travails" (Rom 8.22), and now has begun to protest the abuse which it suffers from humankind. Humanity cannot, forever and without concern, continue to exploit the sources of natural energy. The price of this pride, should this present situation continue, will be humankind's self-destruction.

We take into consideration these things in awareness of the affliction of contemporary humankind. Moved by a sense of responsibility and paternal sensitivity, and in concert with our Holy and Sacred Synod, we have been led to the decision that the beginning of the Ecclesiastical Year, the "Feast of the Indictus," which falls on the first day of the month of September each year, be appointed here at the center of Orthodoxy, a day to offer prayers and services on

behalf of the whole of creation. We thus dedicate the Church's New Year's Day to the protection of the natural environment.

Further, through this present Patriarchal Message we call upon all of the Orthodox, and all of the Christian world, to join the Great and Holy Mother Church of Christ, raising up prayers each year on the first day of September for the well-being of the environment. We call upon you to give thanks to the Creator of All, on the one hand, for the great gift of the Creation, and to petition God, on the other, for its protection and salvation from every evil. In a fatherly spirit, we call upon all the faithful throughout the world to counsel themselves and their children to respect and protect the natural environment. We also appeal to those who have responsibility for the governance of the nations, the entrusted civil leaders of the earth's people, that they proceed without delay in every necessary action to preserve the earth's environment.

We conclude, imploring our Lord for blessings upon the whole world. To all — those who are near, and those who are afar — we bestow our heartfelt patriarchal and paternal blessing.

September 1, 1989
The Patriarch of Constantinople
DIMITRIOS I

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of their ancient Greek heritage. "Hellene," "Hellenismos" are no longer used as synonyms for paganism but "In order to define the *paideia* (culture), civilization, and the ethnic character" of the people. The Latin rule in Constantinople and the creation of Latin principalities and feudal states in the Greek world contributed to the growth of an Orthodox Christian *phronema* (mind) and the value of the Greek tradition (pp. 15-18).

The second and larger part of the book is devoted to eight of Theodore's theological essays. Seven of them are being published for the first time. The author devotes considerable space to an account of the manuscript tradition, including the state of the codices, Theodore's method and language, and related questions. The content of the eight essays can be summarized in four propositions: The Unity of the Being, the Trinity of the Being, the Incarnation of the Triad's second person, and the procession of the Triad's third person. In his exposition of his theology Theodore reveals his background in philosophy (in his works, including epistles, he cites Homer, the Pythagoreans, Plato, Aristotle, and Neo-Platonists) and his debt to Church Fathers, Dionysios the Areopagite in particular. The last section of the book presents the text of Theodore's eight theological essays found in five codices.

The present book should be of interest not only to Byzantinists and Eastern Orthodox theologians but also to Western medievalists and Western Christian theologians. Those who have difficulties with classical Greek unable to appreciate fully Theodore's original essays, will find Dr. Krikonis's theological and philosophical analysis most illuminating (pp. 56-81).

Demetrios J. Constantelos
Stockton State College

New Library: Reviews and Discussions of Over Fifty Books of Modern Greek, American, Russian and Other Writers Pertaining to Philosophy — Ancient, Byzantine and Modern Greek — Eastern Orthodox Christianity, Byzantine Art, and Hellenism. Volume 1. By Constantine Cavarnos. Belmont, Massachusetts: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 1989. Pp. x, 176. Cloth \$10.95. Soft \$7.95.

The Hellenic-Christian Philosophical Tradition: Four Lectures Dealing with Philosophy in the Greek East from Antiquity to Modern Times,

with Special Reference to Plato, Aristotle, Stoicism, and the Greek Church Fathers. By Constantine Cavarinos. With an Introduction by Stephen D. Salamone. Belmont, Massachusetts: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 1989. Pp. viii, 127. Cloth \$10.95. Soft \$7.95.

Anyone familiar with the more than four decades of publishing activity by Dr. Constantine P. Cavarinos, erstwhile professor of philosophy and longtime president of the Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, knows that his work has ranged over the entire continuum of the Hellenic tradition from antiquity to the present, with special emphasis on the Greek Orthodox tradition. The volume entitled *New Library* is the first in a proposed series of three volumes, named after the ninth century work of Saint Photios the Great called *Bibliothēkē* (*Library*). The first volume contains reviews and discussions of fifty-two books written between 1948 and 1988. The particular focus, in the words of the compiler, has been "to giving as far as possible a series of significant glimpses of the long Hellenic philosophico-religious tradition, beginning with the Classical, pre-Christian period, continuing with the Byzantine, Christian era, and ending with the post-Byzantine or modern centuries" (p. v). All but seven reviews have previously been published in journals, books or the Boston weekly newspaper *The Hellenic Chronicle*. More than giving us an idea of what books are in Dr. Cavarinos's personal library, this series will give the reader a very good notion of the vast influence of the Hellenic/Orthodox tradition from antiquity to the present.

In addition to an alphabetical listing of authors whose books are reviewed in *New Library* and indexes of proper names and subjects, there is a brief preface which stresses that the series intends to make those reviews and discussions easily accessible to scholars and the reading public. The seven sections of the book center on 1) Ancient Greek Philosophers; 2) Byzantium, Its Philosophy, Theology, And Art; 3) Modern Greek Philosophers; 4) Modern Greek Religious Writers; 5) Russian Writers; 6) Hellenic Communities in Greece and Abroad; and 7) Modern Greece. Reviews of Russian writers' books of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are included "because their thought has much in common with that of the modern Greek writers whose books are discussed, both being rooted, to a greater or lesser extent, in the Orthodox Christian tradition that has been bequeathed by Byzantium" (p. v).

New Library can provide much continuous fascinating reading and valuable information. It can also be used as a handy reference book. We look forward to the other two volumes.

The Hellenic-Christian Philosophical Tradition originally constituted four lectures presented at Boston University under the sponsorship of the Department of Classical Studies and the Program of Modern Greek Studies, the first three during the Spring of 1987 and "Aristotle's Legacy in the Hellenic East" in the Spring of 1988. The series was originally called "The Hellenic Philosophical Continuum" since the lectures were to focus on "the fact that there has been in the Hellenic East an uninterrupted stream of philosophical thought from antiquity to the present — a stream in which all the vital elements of the earlier stages of philosophy were retained, organically assimilated, refined, and enriched by that of later periods" (p.v.) Dr. Stephen Salamone is right in his Introduction that Dr. Cavarnos is one of very few professionals in the academic world who can focus on the *essence* of Hellenism because he has studied Greek philosophy and culture from an *integrated standpoint*. Salamone calls Cavarnos's approach *essentialist* with "real potential for achieving a truly diachronic understanding of human nature and the evolution of human culture beyond the limitations of Western ethnocentrism" (p. 10). Salamone credits Cavarnos with generating "an anthropology that seeks to reestablish Greece at the center of contemporary humanist studies" (p.9).

There is no doubt that *The Hellenic-Christian Philosophical Tradition* is a ground-breaking book that should have a profound impact upon how we look at the relation of Greek philosophy to Eastern Christianity. So much has been written of the impact and relation of Greek philosophy to Western culture and religion but very little the other way around. Cavarnos's book sets for us briefly, concisely, and authoritatively the means for understanding "Plato's Legacy in the Hellenic East"; "Aristotle's Legacy in the Hellenic East"; "Stoic Elements in the Greek Church Fathers"; and "The Concept of Philosophy in the Hellenic Tradition" (the four titles of the four lectures which constitute the heart of this elegantly written book).

Plato is shown to have significantly contributed to Christianity through his distinction of the sensible and the intelligible realm; God as Demiourgos; his view of the human soul; the four general virtues (wisdom, courage, temperance, and justice); the unity of the virtue; and the beautiful.

Aristotle's legacy is discussed in terms of the distinction between matter and form, the notion of immaterial being, the conception of God, his ten categories (substance, quantity, quality, relation, place, time, position, state, action, and passion), his theory of moral excellence or virtue, virtues being qualities acquired through choices and deliberate actions, guided by *reason* and experience. The role of reason in the moral life is stressed by the Church Fathers and practice and habituation are stated in Patristic writings as necessary for the acquisition of moral virtues. Cavarnos shows that not all of Aristotle was acceptable to the Church Fathers, but that they did use certain features of his philosophy to promote moral development.

In the case of Stoic philosophy, Cavarnos discusses 1) the governing principle of the human soul; 2) preconceptions; 3) examining the fantasies; 4) assent and refusal of assent; 5) relations; 6) tranquility; and freedom from passions. After giving us a review of the nature of Stoicism and comparison with terms and doctrines in the Greek Church Fathers, Dr. Cavarnos concludes that 1) The Church Fathers had no use for Stoic pantheism, for the Stoic view of Nature as the body of God and the human soul as part of God, destined to lose its individuality, its personal character after death or for Stoic fatalism and belief in the periodic destruction and reconstitution of the universe; 2) the Church Fathers did adopt a number of Stoic terms; 3) Stoic and Christian doctrines denoted by most of these terms had certain similarities but also important differences; and 5) the Greek Fathers were very selective in their use of terms and ideas from Stoicism.

Probably the most important and best Chapter in Cavarnos's book is "The Concept of Philosophy in the Hellenic Tradition." It is a masterpiece of precision. In dealing with philosophy in Pre-Christian times the author beautifully shows how philosophy was viewed as 1) love of wisdom; 2) *meletē thanatou* (meditation/practice on death); 3) self-examination and cross examination; 4) dialectic; 5) the way of the best life; and 6) as organized knowledge in general (Aristotle), plus four others described as 7) theoretical philosophy; 8) practical philosophy; 9) "first philosophy," theology metaphysics and 10) physical philosophy. In the Christian period we find the distinction between 1) external and 2) internal philosophy; 3) Orthodox teaching as philosophy; 4) lived Christian teaching as philosophy; 5) the practices of inner attention and inner

quiet as philosophy; and 6) the monastic way of life as philosophy.

The Hellenistic-Christian Philosophical Tradition is an absolutely essential book for every serious student of the Hellenic tradition and of Orthodox Christianity but, as Dr. Stephen Salamone has declared in his Introduction (p. 4), it is a work "which focuses on the *essence* of Hellenism, offers Greek and Western scholars an unparalleled opportunity and a challenge — that is, to rethink both sides of the relationship between Eastern and Western interpretations of the Hellenic Tradition" (*Ibid.*) It is a book that demonstrates the historic relationship between philosophy and religion and the necessity for looking at Greek religion and spirituality in its own terms, culturally and linguistically. Cavarinos's *Hellenic-Christian Philosophical Tradition* helps us enormously to understand the similarities and the difference of a common heritage.

John E. Rexine
Colgate University

Faith & Wealth: A History of Early Christian Ideas on the Origin, Significance, and Use of Money. By Justo L. Gonzalez. San Francisco: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1990. Pp. 240. \$19.95.

The study of the patristic sources for the Church's social teaching is a field that is only gradually developing in the modern world. This volume on the Fathers and New Testament teaching on economics is a welcome contribution to the literature. The fact that it is written by an ecumenically sensitive scholar in a style and format that make easy reading should be a stimulus to wider understanding of the patristic teaching in this field.

The book is divided into four parts: the background in Greek, Roman, and Jewish institutions and cultures; the period before Constantine in the Scriptures and the first two centuries; the period from Constantine to Chrysostom and Augustine; and finally a retrospective. The retrospective gives not only the author's conclusions, but also his method of approach. He carefully documents the continuity of the patristic teaching with the New Testament material and influences from pre-Christian or non-Christian culture. He also points out differences of points of view within the Church and between Church teachers and the culture at large. In this, of course, he carefully

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me and I will give you rest." Father Gerostergios explains that the first call is to all those who are under the unbearable burden of sin and the second call is a call to action for certain qualified individuals to do missionary activity in the Church. Bishop Augoustinos believes that there is missionary work to be done at home, that every parish, every diocese, and every monastery should become a center for missionary work. Throughout the New Testament Christ offers the challenge: "If anyone desires to come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me" (Mt 16.24).

Bishop Augoustinos is concerned that in Greece with 30,000 churches and chapels, the number of churchgoers is only somewhere between one and two per cent, while the world's Christian population, which was 35% of the earth's population more than a half century ago is not even 20% now. In Greece only one in every forty thousand Orthodox homes assume missionary work in a country of nine million people, most of whom are Orthodox Christians, with seventy bishops, eight thousand priests, and four thousand monks and nuns. Bishop Augoustinos bemoans the lack of domestic as well as foreign missionary activity and writes fervently and enthusiastically in its promotion.

His Grace calls for a renewal of Christian effort and for a new apostolic spirit within the Church and purification and transformation of the faithful, including the clergy, that will lead to a spirit of brotherly love and cooperation among Gospel workers, missionary groups and brotherhoods with rediscovery of their mission to become a nation of missionaries. *Follow Me* is a book whose message is applicable not only to Greece but to every place in the world where there are concerned Christians.

John E. Rexine
Colgate University

On the Ascetical Life. By Saint Isaak of Nineveh. Translated from the Syriac with an Introduction by Mary Hansbury. Crestwood, New York: Saint Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1989. Pp. 116. Soft, \$5.95.

We know little about Saint Isaak's life but we do know that his monastic anthropology had a major impact on all of Byzantine spiritual literature. He was apparently a native of Beth Katraye on the Persian

Gulf and after receiving instruction in Scripture and scriptural commentaries, he became a monk and teacher not too far from his home. The Nestorian Patriarch George took note of him during a pastoral visit, took him with him to Mesopotamia and consecrated him bishop of Nineveh (ca. 660-680) at the monastery of Beth Abhe, but that after five months as bishop, Isaak withdrew and lived as an anchorite in Bet Huzaje, eventually going to the monastery of Rabban Shabur in Iran, near the Persian Gulf, where he died at an elderly age and was buried. The study of Scripture characterized his whole life and is clearly evident in his work. The Introduction provides a survey of other key figures in Middle East Christianity and the political and religious background that surrounded him.

There is a threefold pattern in Isaak's work, inherited from John of Apameoa, and though derived from Saint Paul, is typically Syrian. It is this tripartite division through a Greek translation of Isaak's *Ascetical Discourses* that influenced Byzantine spiritual literature. This tripartite division embraces (1) purification, (2) illumination, and (3) perfection or union.

The first stage is characterized by a total preoccupation and involvement with passions and is directed toward God by means of physical works, like fasting, vigils, and psalmody. The second stage is a struggle against thoughts foreign to God's nature. These two successive stages involve a turning away from created objects to the contemplation of God's wisdom and a transformation from within and reflect the biblical categories of the coming of the Lord; God's providence; and his solicitude. The fulfillment of the second stage is limpidity, marked by a total openness of the soul to future hope.

The third stage is achieved by very few and its fulfillment is perceptible only to God, not to human beings. "Knowledge is the ladder by which one ascends to faith, but knowledge becomes indispensable once faith is reached. From this point on the spiritual light of faith which shines in the soul by grace takes the place of knowledge," according to the Introduction. The final stage is one of unified knowledge, involving an attitude of wonder and praise in continual prayer to God. This leads to the freedom of immortal life that is granted after the resurrection. One can only understand Isaac's sense of wonder with the Christian phenomenology of the mercy of God and personal humiliation consciously sought and accepted. It is a wonder of cosmic dimensions that embraces the Old and New Testaments.

All the above observations can be found in the Six Discourses translated here. Saint Isaak believes that the rational soul can approach God by ardent faith, by fear, and by correction from God (p. 101). He tells us that "without actually direct experience of God's providence, the heart is not able to confide in God. And unless the soul tastes suffering for the sake of Christ, it will not share in knowledge with him" (p. 87). He concludes the Sixth Discourse with words that can describe his advice for achieving the ultimate goal: "Joyfully begin every work which is for the sake of God. If you are pure of passions and of division of heart, God will bring to completion and he will help you and make you wise; according to his will, and in a marvelous way, he will bring you to perfection" (p. 116).

We must thank Saint Vladimir's Seminary Press for making available in English one of the classics of Christian spirituality.

John E. Rexine
Colgate University

The Living God: A Catechism. Translated from the French by Olga Dunlop. Crestwood: Saint Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1989. Two vols. Pp. xvi + 445. Illustrated. Paper, \$24.95.

It is the happy task of book reviewers to say good things about good books as they come along and to present such books to an interested public. This happy task is complicated, however, at the very point where it should bring the greatest joy to the reviewer, namely, when he is presented with an outstanding volume that merits lavish praise. The temptation is to be gushy. Good taste counsels restraint. The reviewer must tread a slippery path somewhere between polite applause, on the one side, and the roar of the crowd on the other. The present review is the fruit of such a tension.

The Living God: A Catechism is the product of collaborative effort on the part of the Orthodox Fraternity of Western Europe. Primarily, it is the work of French catechists who see its purpose "not so much to be a manual of lessons which are to be learned, as it is to transmit a message of life, the Word of the Living God" (p. xv). As Oliver Clement says at the beginning of his Preface, "What is most significant about this catechism, or rather this major catechetical work, is without any question, its essential *ecclesial* nature" (p. ix). It is this

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Orthodox Theology Facing the Twenty-first Century*

PETROS VASSILIADIS

I HAVE BEEN ASKED TO DEAL IN THIS PAPER WITH ORTHODOX theology facing the twenty-first century, especially in view of the dramatic changes that have been taking place during the last three or four months in Eastern Europe. You all probably know that Eastern Europe is the traditional geographical *locus* of one stream of Eastern Orthodox Christianity, the most populated, though not the most ancient, since the people received Christianity just over 1,000 years ago from the Greek-speaking Eastern Orthodox Church.

However, according to the Orthodox understanding, "theology" is not an independent discipline, but the discipline of the one, holy, catholic, and apostolic Church. And because for centuries now the Church is conceived in the Orthodox tradition according to the Ephesian understanding (Eph 1.3), i.e. as an unchanged reality from her creation "before the world was made" (πρὸ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως) until the *eschata* (cf. also Heb 13.8), her theology is destined to remain the same even during the years ahead. This is at least the prevailing view today.¹

On the other hand, Orthodox theology more and more nowadays concentrates not on the ontological problem of deity — this problem is believed to have been solved in the golden age of Church history

* This paper was given at Smith College, March 6, 1990.

¹ Cf., however, my "Theology in the Making: Trends and Facts in the 80s — Vision for the 90s," to be published in *Saint Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*.

with the dogmatic formulation on the Holy Trinity — but on the functional one, i.e. with the ecclesiological issue, the meaning of the Church, which is in fact God's projection into the world, if we take into account the Pauline imagery of the Church as the "Body of Christ." The emphasis, in other words, shifted from *theology* to *ecclesiology*. Hence, the importance for the Orthodox in all ecumenical dialogues of the ecclesiological issue.

Here, we are faced with the first major difficulty. For Orthodox ecclesial reality is not so much an object for which we can search, analyze, and finally present in an academic lecture like this: it is a mystical reality which is lived and experienced. In his book *The Orthodox Church*, Sergei Bulgakov, a prominent Russian Orthodox theologian, tried to explain the essence of the Orthodox reality as something which exists in us, not as an institution or a society, but first of all as a spiritual certainty, a special experience, a new life,² and I would add a whole new world.

Therefore, before we enter into the discussion of the characteristic features of Orthodox theology, we must say a word on the importance of the ecclesiological issue. For "ecclesiology," as Metropolitan John Zizioulas has rightly put it, "is in the first place a question of the Church's identity. As long as we do not solve the problem of what is the Church we shall never reach agreement in the ecumenical movement."³

Let me state quite frankly right from the beginning that "the Orthodox Church in all humility believes herself to be the 'one, holy, catholic, and apostolic Church,'"⁴ of which the Nicaeo-Constantinopolitan Creed speaks. However, despite her inner conviction and ecclesial consciousness that she is the bearer of, and the witness to, the faith and tradition of the ancient undivided Church, "she deeply believes that she has a central and unique position in the Christian world today in order to further the unity of the Church."⁵ However, as it was firmly stated in the last (Third Pre-

² S. Bulgakov, *The Orthodox Church* (London, 1935), p. 38.

³ J. Zizioulas, "The Mystery of the Church in Orthodox Tradition," *One in Christ* 24 (1988) 294-303; cf. also S. Agourides, "The Goal of the Ecumenical Movement," *ER* 25 (1973) 266-69.

⁴ "The Orthodox and the Ecumenical Movement," *Episkepsis* 369 (1986) 14ff.

⁵ *Ibid.* Hence, the Orthodox Church's participation as a full member in the WCC. Unlike the Roman Catholic Church, the Orthodox Church is not only a full and

Conciliar) Pan-Orthodox Conference, the Orthodox Church "in participating in the fellowship of WCC does not accept the idea of a parity of denominations and cannot accept Church unity as an inter-denominational adjustment."⁶ Unity can only take place on the basis of the common faith and confession of the ancient undivided Church; in other words, in understanding the "oneness" of the Church both in space and in time.⁷ This, I think, explains why the Orthodox are in favor of a "common" Christian witness, while at the same time they strongly oppose the idea of an *inter*-communion (in the place of *full* communion) or of eucharistic hospitality. Even in the field of common witness, the Orthodox emphasize the unity. As Metropolitan Paulos Mar Gregorios has rightly stated, "unity is not merely an ancillary to mission."⁸ If we believe in the "consummation and recapitulation of 'all things' in Christ . . . the ultimate purpose of all witness is unity."⁹

With all these in mind, I will try to present to you a glimpse of what Orthodox theology is all about. I will start with a definition of the term Orthodoxy (Ὁρθοδοξία) as well as with the question of the sources of Orthodox theology; and then I will proceed to a brief examination of some characteristic features of Orthodox theology.

A Definition of the Term "Orthodoxia"

Every time the Orthodox need to speak about "Orthodox theology," or about "Orthodoxy," or even about the "Orthodox point of view" on a certain subject, they find themselves in a very strange and difficult situation. What are the specificities of the "Orthodox" theology, at a time when this very attribute ("orthodoxy") is widely understood as having more or less negative connotations? In western

active member of the World Council of Churches, but also a pioneer in the ecumenical movement. More on this in G. Tsetsis, "The Meaning of the Orthodox Presence," *ER* 40 (1988) 440-45, and his dissertation, *The Contribution of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in the Establishment of the World Council of Churches* (Katerini, 1988), in Greek.

⁶ *Episkepsis* 369 (1986) 15. Cf. also V. Borovoy, "The Ecclesiastical Significance of the WCC: The Legacy and Promise of Toronto," *ER* 40 (1988) 504-18.

⁷ More on this on the meaning of the Orthodox understanding of tradition below.

⁸ Paulos Mar Gregorios, "The Witness of the Churches: Ecumenical Statements on Mission and Evangelism," *ER* 40 (1988) 359-66.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 365.

theological circles Orthodox theology has become known through the ecumenical discussions, especially within the WCC. Some people identify Orthodoxy with a kind of Roman Catholicism without pope or with a kind of Protestantism with episcopacy. To most Protestants — certainly from the “evangelical” stream of the Christian tradition, but sometimes also from the “ecumenical” one, Orthodoxy has come to signify either stagnation in Church life, strict dogmatic confessionalism, inflexibility, and unreadiness to adapt to modern situations, at best an “eastern phenomenon” vis-à-vis “western mentality” and perhaps theological process. Almost a generation ago, S. McGrae Cavert, a pioneer in the ecumenical movement, gave the following introduction to his own high appreciation of the Orthodox tradition:

My textbooks in church history made little or no reference to Eastern Orthodoxy after the Great Schism between East and West in 1054 — or at least after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. I assumed that the Orthodox Church was static and impervious to renewal, weighted down under the dead hand of the past. I thought of it as preoccupied with an endless repetition of ancient rituals unrelated to the ongoing currents of life in today's world. The practice of involving all the saints and reverencing icons appeared to me expressions of unenlightened credulity. The ascetic and monastic forms of life looked like outmoded medievalism. The long centuries of subservience of church to the state struck me as intolerable. A sacramental mysticism seemed to me to have taken the place of prophetic mission in contemporary society.¹⁰

This understanding is totally unacceptable by the Eastern Church. Orthodoxy means the wholeness of the people of God who share the right conviction (ὀρθὴ δόξα — right opinion) concerning the event of God's salvation in Christ and his Church, and the right expression (ὀρθοπραξία) of this faith. Orthodoxy leads to the maximum possible application in orthopraxia of charismatic life in the freedom of the Holy Spirit in all aspects of daily social life. Everybody is invited by Orthodoxy to transcend confessions and inflexible institutions without necessarily denying them. Nikos Nissiotis has reminded us that Orthodoxy is not to be identified only with us Orthodox in the historical sense and with all our limitations and shortcomings.¹¹

¹⁰N. Nissiotis, “Interpreting Orthodoxy,” *ER* 14 (1961) 1-27.

¹¹*Ibid.* p. 26.

"We should never forget that this term is given to the one (holy, catholic, and) apostolic Church as a whole over against the heretics who, of their own choice, split from the main body of the Church. The term is *exclusive* for all those, who willingly fall away from the historical stream of life of the one Church but it is *inclusive* for those who profess their spiritual belonging to that stream . . ."¹²

The Sources of Orthodox Theology

The question is now how can one profess one's "orthodoxy?" How can one establish it? On what ground and from what sources? The Roman Catholics have Vatican II to draw from; the Orthodox do not. The Lutherans have an Augsburg Confession of their own; the Orthodox do not, and the latter also lack the equivalent of a Luther or Calvin, to mention just two from the Reformation movement, who could give a theological identity. The only authoritative sources which the Orthodox possess are in fact common to the rest of the Christians: the Bible and Tradition. How can one establish a distinctly Orthodox view on a basis which is common to non-Orthodox as well?

Some Orthodox insist that their theology is not a matter of drawing from special sources, but of interpreting the sources they share with the rest of the Christians; that they have their own theological *presuppositions*, which suggest a certain problematic and method not always familiar to the non-Orthodox. Naturally then, all their theological viewpoints come only as the logical consequence of these presuppositions.

However, the essence of Orthodoxy is even beyond such theological presuppositions: it is a way of life, hence the importance of its *liturgical* tradition. Of course, theological presuppositions and liturgical experience are very closely connected to each other. And here we come to the contribution of Father Georges Florovsky, who goes even further with regard to the semantic significance of the term "Orthodoxy." "The word *orthodoxy* in the Eastern use means primarily not 'right opinion' (as it is usually interpreted in the West) but rather 'right glory,' i.e. precisely right worship . . . The fullness of the theological thought of the Orthodox Church is thrown into the worship. This is possibly the most notable distinctive mark of the Eastern tradition."¹³ It is exactly for this reason that the Orthodox have placed

¹²J. Zizioulas, "The Mystery," p. 294.

¹³G. Florovsky, "The Elements of Liturgy," in G. Patelos (ed.). *The Orthodox*

the Liturgy on such a prominent place in their theology. It is widely held that the liturgical dimension is perhaps the only safe criterion in ascertaining the specificities of Orthodox theology. In a historic speech to the 1952 Assembly of Faith and Order in Lund, Florovsky emphasized that "Christianity is a liturgical religion. The Church is first of all a worshipping community. Worship comes first, doctrine and discipline second. The *lex orandi* has a privileged priority in the life of the Christian Church. The *lex credendi* depends upon the devotional experience and vision of the Church."¹⁴ At this point I have to remind you that the Orthodox understanding of the Liturgy goes far beyond the ritual; it is rather an authentic expression of the relation of the people of God to the Creator, to humanity, and to the entire cosmos. The heart of Orthodox liturgy, as in all or most all Christian traditions, is the Eucharist, which is called by the Orthodox "Divine Liturgy." The most widely held criterion for determining Orthodox theology among the Orthodox of our time is undoubtedly the *eucharistic* approach¹⁵ to all aspects of theology, and especially to ecclesiology. It is in the Eucharist only that the church becomes Church in its fullest sense. Eucharist is conceived as the very manifestation of the Church and as a corporate act of the whole community. Orthodox theology has been known to non-Orthodox as the more consistent to the "eucharistic" ecclesiology, while the Roman Catholic one puts more emphasis on the "universal" ecclesiology."¹⁶

Some Characteristic Features of Orthodox Theology

Closely connected to, in fact as a consequence of, the liturgical-eucharistic criterion, which constitutes for the Orthodox the only living *depositum fidei*, Orthodox theology is also determined by the follow-

Church in the Ecumenical Movement (Geneva, 1978), pp. 172-82.

¹⁴Ibid. Here the Church is understood as a sign and manifestation of the Kingdom of God.

¹⁵Cf., however, P. Tarazi's plea of a "baptismal" theology in his "The Parish in N.T.," an address to a recent *Syndesmos* assembly, to be published in *STVQ*.

¹⁶Cf. the influential contribution of N. Afanassiev, "The Church which presides in love," in *The Primacy of Peter in the Orthodox Church*, a collective work by J. Meyendorff, N. Afanassiev, A. Schmemmann, N. Kouloumzin (London, 1963), pp. 57-110, originally presented in French under the title, "La doctrine de la primauté à la lumière de l'ecclesiologie," *Istina* 4 (1957) 401-20. Further development of this basic orthodox teaching with corrective remarks in J. Zizioulas, *Being as Communion: Studies in Personhood and the Church* (Crestwood, 1985).

ing criteria: a) the idea of the living *tradition*; b) the *Trinitarian* basis for all theologies; c) the *pneumatological* dimension; d) the *eschatological* perspective; e) the importance of the *icons* and the theology of images; and f) the *cosmic* dimension of its identity.¹⁷

A. Tradition

The significance of the tradition for the life of the Church is summarized by John of Damascus, the father of church dogmatics, with the following words: "We do not change the everlasting boundaries which our fathers have set, but we keep the tradition just as we have received it."¹⁸ The reverence by the Orthodox of the tradition underlines a sense of living continuity with the Church of the ancient times, of the apostolic period. Behind it lies the same determination that kept the unity of the two Testaments against the gnostic (Marcian) attempt to reject the Old Testament. The Orthodox, however, do not consider tradition as something in addition to, or over against, the Bible. Scripture and tradition are not treated as two different things, two distinct sources of the Christian faith. Scripture exists *within* tradition, which although it gives a unique preeminence to the Bible, it also includes further developments — in the form of clarification and explication, not of addition — of the apostolic faith.¹⁹ What is even more important is that the Orthodox conception of tradition (to be distinguished from the various local or regional or even temporal traditions) is not a static entity but a dynamic reality, not a dead acceptance of the past, but a living experience of the Holy Spirit in the present.²⁰ In G. Florovsky's words, "Tradition is the witness of the Spirit; the Spirit's unceasing revelation and preaching of the Good News . . . It is not only a protective,

¹⁷There are of course other significant aspects of Orthodox theology, e.g. the teaching about the Theotokos, etc., but they are all consequences of Christology, i.e. of the trinitarian theology. That is why the Orthodox have never articulated a "Mariology," but a teaching on the "All-holy Theotokos" with extremely important anthropological significance. Cf. A. Schmemmann, *The Presence of Mary* (Santa Barbara, 1988).

¹⁸*On Icons* 2.12, PG 94.1297.

¹⁹The Orthodox Church has never dogmatized a teaching which does not appear in some form in the Bible.

²⁰Cf. Ch. Konstandinidis, "The Significance of the Eastern and Western Traditions within Christendom," in C. Patelos (ed.) *The Orthodox Church*, pp. 220ff.

conservative principle, but primarily the principle of growth and renewal."²¹

B. The Trinitarian Basis

All fundamental aspects of Orthodox theology, the creation of the entire cosmos by God, redemption in Christ and salvation through the Church, but beyond her boundaries in the power of the Holy Spirit, etc., are all conceived as the natural consequence of the inner dynamics of the Triune God, i.e. of the communion and love that exists within the Holy Trinity. By making trinitarian theology their starting point, the Orthodox have been prevented from being trapped into such tragic and schizophrenic dichotomies: dogma or ethics, faith or witness, spirituality or social responsibility, etc., since there can be no expression of faith other than communion and love.

Applied to mission, this trinitarian principle had tremendous effect in helping the Church to avoid imperialistic or confessionalistic attitudes.²² In Ion Bria's words, "the trinitarian theology points to the fact that God's involvement in history aims at drawing humanity and creation in general into this communion with God's very life. The implications of this assertion for understanding mission are very important: mission does not aim primarily at the propagation or transmission of intellectual convictions, doctrines, moral commands, etc., but at the transmission of the life of communion that exists in God."²³

Of similar importance is the application of the trinitarian theology to the structure of the Church, at least in theory. By nature the Church cannot reflect the worldly image of secular organizations, which is based on power and domination, but the kenotic image of the Holy Trinity, which is based on love and communion.²⁴ If we take a little further this trinitarian understanding of ecclesiology and if we take into consideration the distinction of the hypostases (persons) within

²¹G. Florovsky, "Sobornost: The Catholicity of the Church," E. L. Marschal (ed.), *The Church of God* (London, 1934), pp. 64f.

²²Cf. my "Biblical Consideration of Christian Mission" in Ion Bria — P. Vassiliadis, *Orthodox Christian Witness* (Katerini, 1989), pp. 119-40, in Greek.

²³Ibid. p. 15 from the English original, I. Bria (ed.), *Go Forth in Peace, Orthodox Perspectives on Mission* (Geneva, 1985), p. 3.

²⁴P. Vassiliadis, "Biblical Consideration," p. 135.

the Holy Trinity, we realize that the Church is a church of "God" (the Father) before it becomes a church of "Christ" and of a certain place. That is why in the Orthodox liturgy all the proper eucharistic prayers are addressed to God. This theology has revealed implications on a number of issues ranging from the profound meaning of episcopacy (bishop = image of "Christ") to the dialectics between Christ — Church, divine — human, unity of man and woman, etc.

C. *Pneumatology*

A lot has been written and said about Orthodox spirituality. But very often this spirituality is understood in the western sense, as an idealistic philosophical category, as a way of life distinct from, or in opposition to, the material life; as if it referred to the spirit of "human beings" and not to the Spirit of "God," which in the biblical sense (2 Cor 13.13) is by definition conditioned by the idea of communion (κοινωνία). The eucharistic dimension of the Church as a gathering of the people of God ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό (cf. Acts 2.1, 44; etc.) and as "communion of the saints" once again comes to mind. The Spirit is incompatible with individualism, its primary work being the transformation of all reality to a relational status.²⁵

Western theology of the past has been very often criticized for being "Christomonistic," of orienting almost all its attention to Christ, relegating the Spirit to an ancillary role (agent of Christ, inspirator of the prophets and the authors of the Bible, helper of the Church to listen, apprehend, and interpret the word of God, etc.). This criticism may have gone too far and may be an exaggeration;²⁶ it shows however implicitly the pneumatological orientation of the Orthodox tradition. This pneumatological orientation, however, has never taken the form of a "pneumatomonism." It rather led to an understanding of christology conditioned in a constitutive way by pneumatology.

Three are the most important distinctive characteristics of Orthodox pneumatology: a) the rejection of the *filioque* theology; b) the importance of the *epiklesis*, i.e. the invocation of the Holy Spirit in all liturgical practices, especially in the eucharistic anaphora; and

²⁵Cf. J. Zizioulas, *Being as Communion*, p. 209ff.

²⁶Cf. Th. Stylianopoulos, "The Filioque Dogma: Theologoumenon or Error?" in Th. Stylianopoulos — S. Mark Hein (eds.), *Spirit of Truth: Ecumenical Perspectives on the Holy Spirit* (Brookline, 1986), pp. 25-80.

c) the understanding of all the Church's ministries always within the context of the community. Starting from the last one, I can only underline that the Orthodox Church has not till recently experienced antagonism between clericalism and anticlericalism, or the tension between the clergy and the laity, and this is why the thorny question of the ordination of women has not come up as an issue and a serious challenge from within the Orthodox Church.

With regards to *epiklesis*, I will only underline that the daily liturgical cycle of the Orthodox Church is introduced by the well-known prayer to the Holy Spirit:

O heavenly King, Comforter, the spirit of truth, present in all places and filling all things, treasury of good things and giver of life, come dwell among us, purify us from every stain, and of your goodness save our souls.²⁷

It is therefore significant that in the Orthodox liturgy and in particular in all sacraments (called by the Orthodox mysteries and not sacraments in the conventional sense), it is the Spirit which is repeatedly invoked. Furthermore, the sacrament of chrismation (the equivalent of the western confirmation), which is always understood as the seal of the gift of the Holy Spirit, has never been dissociated from baptism in the East. And above all, in the Orthodox Church, it was always believed that during the invocation of the Holy Spirit — and not during the utterance of the dominical words of the institution of the Eucharist — the transformation (again the neutral *μεταβολή* and not the scholastic *transubstantiatio*) of the holy gifts took place. And in addition, the *epiklesis* of the Holy Spirit in the Eastern Orthodox liturgy is made for both the holy gifts and the community (in fact, first for the community and then for the holy gifts). The claim therefore, of the Orthodox that the Church, in its fullest sense, is nowhere manifested but in the Eucharist as a communion event, is well justified. The Church is not only an institution, i.e. something which is given; it is above all a communion event. We may say that Christ institutes the Church, but it is the Holy Spirit that constitutes her.²⁸

²⁷For a short explication of this hymn, see G. Lemopoulos, "Come Holy Spirit," *ER* 41 (1989) 461ff.

²⁸J. Zizioulas, *Being as a Communion*, p. 140.

Finally, with regard to the *filioque* issue, it has been implicitly acknowledged, even by Roman Catholics (cf. e.g. Y. Congar)²⁹ that with this unnecessary insertion into the Nicene Creed "the charism is made subordinate to the institution, inner freedom to imposed authority, prophetism to juridicism, mysticism to scholasticism, the laity to the clergy, the universal priesthood to the ministerial hierarchy, and finally the college of bishops to the primacy of the Pope."³⁰ Without considering the *filioque* as an error on the part of the western theology,³¹ its rejection in the East is a clear indication of the Orthodox Church's consciousness to at least safeguard the role and the significance of the Holy Spirit in the life of the Church. By rejecting any idea of subordination of the Holy Spirit within the economy of the Holy Trinity, the Orthodox kept alive the idea of renewal and the concept of the Church as a continuous Pentecost.

D. The Church as an Eschatological Reality

Addressing the last WCC World Mission at San Antonio, Texas, I underlined that the ecclesiological problem, which is so important an issue in today's ecumenical discussions, is a matter not so much of church *organization* and *structure*, as it is a matter of *eschatological orientation*.³² The whole Christian tradition from Jesus' preaching of the coming of the kingdom of God (the already inaugurated, but not yet fulfilled, new heaven and new earth), through the Ignatian concept of the Church as a eucharistic community (with the bishop as the image of Christ), and down to the later Orthodox tradition (which, by the way, understands the Eucharist as *the* mystery of the Church and not *a* mystery among others), reveals that it is the eschatological and not the hierarchical (episcopal, conciliar, congregational, etc.) nature of the Church that was stressed.³³ In Orthodox theology and liturgical praxis, the Church does not draw her identity from what she is, or from what was given to her as an institution,

²⁹Y. Congar, *I Believe in the Holy Spirit* (New York, 1983), p. 208.

³⁰Ibid. quoted from N. Lossky, *Orthodox Theology*.

³¹Cf. Th. Stylianopoulos' "Filioque Dogma," p. 24.

³²"The Legacy of St. Luke for Christian Mission," to be published in the 1990 *ΔΒΜ*; cf. also P. Vassiliadis, "Biblical Aspects of Mission," *The Mission of the Churches in a Secularised Europe* (Geneva, 1989), pp. 26-39.

³³Cf. P. Vassiliadis, "'Αποστολή — Διακονία — 'Επισκοπή'" *Biblical Hermeneutical Studies* (Thessalonike, 1988), pp. 364-90, in Greek.

but from what she will be, i.e. from the *eschata*. This explains perfectly, I think, the heavenly atmosphere which prevails in all liturgical activities of the Orthodox Church, an atmosphere that reminds us of the heavenly worship of the Book of Revelation. According to Orthodox theology the Church is understood as portraying the kingdom of God on earth, in fact as being a glimpse or foretaste of the kingdom to come. This is the inevitable consequence of the main concern of all great theologians (of the apostolic, post-apostolic and of the later period of the Orthodox Church) to maintain clearly the vision of that kingdom before the eyes of the people. Hence the episcopocentric structure of the Church as an essential part of that vision. The bishop as presiding in love in the Eucharist is not a vicar or representative or ambassador of Christ, but an *image* (τύπος) of Christ. So with the rest of the ministries of the Church: they are not *parallel* to, or *given* by, but *identical* with those of, Christ.³⁴

That is also why the whole Orthodox theology and life are centered around the *resurrection*. The Church exists not because Christ died on the cross, but because he is risen from the dead, thus becoming the *aparche* of all humanity. Eschatology, contrary to its usual treatment as the last chapter of dogmatics in almost all Western theological handbooks, constitutes the primary aspect, the beginning of the Church, that which gives her her identity, sustains, and inspires her in her existence. Hence the priority of the kingdom of God in all ecclesiological considerations. In the Orthodox Church everything belongs to the kingdom. The Church does not administer all reality; she only prepares the way to the kingdom. Although the Church is yet another human community or society in the eyes of the historian and the sociologist, to the Orthodox it is primarily a *mystery*,³⁵ and they often call her an *eikon* of the kingdom to come. And the iconic understanding by the Orthodox of the existence of the Church brings us to another characteristic feature of Orthodoxy: the icons.

E. The Icons and the Theology of Images

For the Orthodox, the veneration of icons and the theology of images, though not fundamental, is quite essential, as it is linked with

³⁴J. Zizioulas, *Being as Communion*, p. 163.

³⁵J. Zizioulas, "The Mystery," p.

almost all significant parameters of Christian theology.³⁶ It was adopted by the Seventh Ecumenical Synod after a long period of iconoclastic controversy. Compared with the three-dimensional statues, which were — and in some cases still are — venerated in the West, the use of the only two-dimensional art (iconography) has to do with the eschatological understanding of all theologies; the two dimensional art limits the conception of all reality and at the same time allows the eschatological perspective to govern the ecclesiastical practice. The technique which was developed especially in the Byzantine period, but which also influenced other cultures, is quite revealing: the icons, though depicting worldly schemes, are not in fact concerned with the actual world, but with the world to come. As in the Eucharist the same interaction of past, present, future occurs; the same anticipation by this world of the world to come and the same penetration of matter by the spirit (and vice-versa) is present.³⁷

Of course, the whole iconoclastic controversy, far from being a dispute exclusively on the veneration of icons was fundamentally an issue concerning the icon of Christ, an issue of great Christological importance with implications on the confession of faith on both the divinity of Christ and his incarnation. The entire interrelation between the doctrine of incarnation and that of salvation as well as of gnosiology is quite known. The important characteristic of the icons is that they never depict naturalistic figures and scenery. They never express a dematerialization of the body; what they actually express is the reverse process, i.e. the *transfiguration* of the material body. In fact, it is not only the figures which are treated with this transfigural technique, but nature too. The material or cosmic elements which surround the holy figures are also shown transformed and flooded by grace. The Byzantine icons underline exactly the same idea as does another characteristic orthodox teaching, that of *theosis*. This notion of deification, first expressed by Saint Athanasios, and further developed in the East in post-Byzantine times, far from implying a disregard of the body, or of matter, mainly refers to the body's redemption and the restoration of the glory which the whole creation

³⁶Cf. P. Vassiliadis, "Icon and Church in Apocalypse," *Biblical*, pp. 414ff (also in English in the *Proceedings of the Third Conference of the Orthodox Theological Schools* to be published by Holy Cross Press).

³⁷Ibid. p. 417.

possessed before the Fall. It was this true glory (uncreated light) that was, according to the Orthodox, revealed on Mount Tabor. The icon, therefore, reveals how matter — in fact the entire cosmos, humanity and nature alike — will be transformed in the original harmony and beauty they possessed before the Fall.³⁸ And this brings us to the last basic characteristic of Orthodox theology: its cosmic dimension.

The Cosmic Dimension of Orthodox Theology

The Orthodox conception of the Church is not a communion of human beings unrelated to creation. In ecumenical circles the contribution of the Orthodox theology is well known for the so-called wholistic³⁹ approach to salvation, a balance between the horizontal and vertical, and between human and cosmic dimension. Ruether, the outstanding American feminist theologian, has acknowledged that "it was her study of Eastern Orthodoxy with its wholistic view of nature, grace, self, and universe that was to remain significant in all her analyses and activities."⁴⁰ Here, I would like to underline the significance of the mysteries/sacraments, and especially of the Eucharist, which are considered so crucial to the Orthodox, even more crucial than the preaching of the Word.⁴¹ It is there, in the Eucharist, where humanity acts as the priest of creation, referring it (*anaphora*) to God and allowing it to become part of the body of Christ and thus survive eternally.⁴²

Orthodoxy and the West

I have tried in the very limited time allocated to me to present to you some of the basic aspects of the Eastern Christian tradition. Sometimes I overemphasized the differences between East and West. I did so deliberately, because I firmly believe in a synthesis of the

³⁸Ibid, p. 416.

³⁹I prefer this spelling of the term (taking root from the english word "whole") rather than the ambiguous "holistic" (from the Greek word ὅλος = holos) which to a non professional readership may be confused with the root "holy."

⁴⁰R. R. Ruether, *Disputed Questions* (New York, 1984), p. 37.

⁴¹Cf. J. Breck, *The Power of the Word in the Worshipping Church* (New York, 1986), for a careful and balanced consideration of the relationship between worship and the Gospel.

⁴²J. Zizoulas, "The Mystery," p. 302.

two.⁴³ The authentic catholicity of the Church must include both East and West. To recall just one area of the above analysis, Western theology tends to limit ecclesiology to the historical context. The Church ends by being completely *historicized*; thus it ceases to be the manifestation of the *eschata*, becoming an image of this world. At the other end, Eastern theology with its vision of future or heavenly things runs the danger of *disincarnating* the Church from history. A dynamic encounter will enrich both traditions. That is why the Orthodox unceasingly pray for the unity of the Church and look forward to the restoration of the broken unity of the Body of Christ. All we Orthodox can offer to the world is the treasure of our rich past tradition; an unbroken tradition of twenty centuries. The theology of the twenty-first century should not be "Orthodox"; it should be "Christian."⁴⁴

⁴³Cf. also Chr. Konstandinidis, "The Significance of the Eastern and Western Traditions within Christendom"; J. Zizoulas, *Being as Communion*, p. 26.

⁴⁴Having said that, I do not by any means have the illusion that the desired Christian unity is at hand. In the meantime Orthodox theology should direct its effort to the neglected areas. More on this in my "Greek Theology in the Making" (n. 1 above).

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Perspectives on Ecclesial Authority: The Orthodox-Roman Catholic Dialogue Statements

THOMAS FITZGERALD

THE EXERCISE OF AUTHORITY IN THE CHURCH IS A TOPIC WHICH IS receiving greater attention in the official dialogues between Orthodox and Roman Catholic theologians. The different understandings of the exercise of authority in the Church has long been considered as the preeminent barrier to reconciliation. While Orthodox and Roman Catholic theologians have produced a number of very valuable joint statements on a wide variety of themes over the past twenty-five years, the topic of authority has always lurked in the background receiving only occasional attention in a formal manner.

Now, however, both the International Commission for Theological Dialogue between the Roman Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church and the Orthodox-Roman Catholic Consultation in the United States have begun to deal with various aspects of the topic of authority in a manner which bodes well for future discussions. The International Commission issued its third Statement on June 26, 1988 following its fifth plenary meeting held at the Monastery of New Valamo in Finland. The Statement is titled: "The Sacrament of Order in the Sacramental Structure of the Church." The Orthodox-Roman Catholic Consultation in the United States issued its thirteenth Agreed Statement on "Conciliarity and Primacy in the Church" following the conclusion of its biannual meeting on October 26-28, 1989. At the same meeting, the American Consultation also issued its "Joint Reaction to the New Valamo Statement" as its fourteenth Agreed Statement.¹

¹ For background on the establishment and early activity of these theological con-

The New Valamo Statement is the third such statement issued by the International Commission. The Munich Statement of 1982 dealt the theme: "The Mystery of the Church and of the Eucharist in the Light of the Mystery of the Holy Trinity." The Bari Statement of 1987 dealt with the theme: "Faith, Sacraments, and the Unity of the Church." The three statements clearly evidence a continuity of concerns and the interrelationship of a number of themes. The statements generally affirm that the dialogue has recognized a common tradition in the Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church regarding ordained ministries and their relationship to Christ and the Spirit, the sacramental structure of the Church and Apostolic Succession. Central to all the statements is the affirmation that the Church is a communion of faith and sacrament pre-eminently manifested in the Eucharist.

The New Valamo Statement begins by emphasizing the Trinitarian basis of the Church and her ministry by beginning with an affirmation of a rich Christology which clearly affirms the necessary link between the will of the Father and the activity of the Holy Spirit. "The Spirit, which eternally proceeds from the Father and reposes on the Son, prepared the Christ event and achieved it." (par.6.) Likewise, these is a clear attempt made to emphasize the relationship between Christ and the Church. Christ, servant of God for humanity, "the Statement affirms," "is present through the Spirit in the Church, his body, from which he can not be separated. For he himself is the "firstborn among many brothers".(par.9) At the heart of these statements is the common understanding that the Church is a divine-human community established by Christ, nurtured by the Holy Spirit and directed toward the Father.

With these perspectives in mind, the text recognizes the need to relate all ministry in the Church to the Person of Christ revealed in the Spirit to the glory of the Father. Thus, the ordained bishop or presbyter is the one who is a "member of the community whom the Spirit invests with proper function and power to assemble it and to

sultations, see: Edward Kilmartin, *Toward Reunion: The Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches* (New York, 1979); Robert Barringer, ed., *Rome and Constantinople: Essays in the Dialogue of Love* (Brookline, 1984); E. J. Stormon, SJ, ed., *Towards the Healing of Schism: The Sees of Rome and Constantinople* (New York, 1987); Thomas Fitzgerald, "A New Phase in Orthodox-Roman Catholic Relations," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 25 (1980) 119-30.

preside in the name of Christ over the acts in which it celebrates the mysteries of salvation" (par. 11). As one of the many charisms of the Spirit, the ordained ministry is meant to orientate all members of the body toward holiness (par. 8). Thus, the Statement properly emphasizes the intimate relationship between the Church and ministry. It says: There is no Church without ministries created by the Spirit; There is no ministry without the Church, that is to say, outside and above the community. Ministries find their meaning and ground for existence only in it" (par. 5).

As its second theme, the text discusses the priesthood in the divine economy of salvation. Here again, the Commission emphasizes the centrality of Christ. His ministry is the culmination of the economy of salvation laying the foundation for the reestablishment of communion between God and humankind. With constant reference to the Epistle to the Hebrews, the text affirms that Christ is the one and eternal High Priest who has offered himself for our salvation. Christ, who is invisibly present in the Church through the Spirit remains her unique High Priest. "All members of the Church," the Statement says, "participate in this priesthood, (they are) called to become 'a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God' " (Rom. 12.1) (par. 18).

In a rather awkward transition, the text then speaks about the apostles whom Christ has established "to make himself present." In an even more awkward transition, it is affirmed that bishops and deacons continue the work of the apostles. "By ordination, the text states, "the bishops are established successors of the apostles and direct the people along the way of salvation" (par. 18).

Perhaps it is this section of the New Valamo Statement which is the least developed and in need of greater clarity. There is a need for a more subtle discussion of the priesthood of Christ and its relationship to the priesthood of the faithful and to the ordained ministry. One would have liked the text to devote more attention to the manner in which all believers share in the priesthood of Christ, and how every ministry in the Church reflects and embodies the priestly act of Christ. With this in mind, can it not be said that every believer 'makes Christ present'? While the text does affirm that all the faithful share in the priesthood of Christ, this important affirmation receives little attention. Rather, the focus immediately shifts to the 'ordained priesthood' and its particular ministry. Ignored completely is any reflection on the fact that the New Testament does not apply the word 'priest' to bishops and prebyters. The concerns traditionally raised by Protestants

on this point can not be easily ignored.

This section also raises another important question with regard to terminology. The text casually affirms that the bishops are the 'successors of the apostles.' While this terminology is not uncommon in both Orthodox and Roman Catholic sacramental theology, such a statement, when not sufficiently developed, seems to undermine the unique ministry of the Twelve as well as the fact that all the faithful are called to participate in the apostolic work of the Church. Noting the inadequacy of this section, the response of the American Consultation says: "In our view the attempt to explain the multiple relationships: Christ — the Twelve — apostles — successors to the apostles, is not successful (par 13). . . . On the whole, the document reflects an oversimplified view of the structures present in the early Church, especially in the New Testament period" (par. 14).

The third section of the New Valamo Statement deals with the ministry of bishop, presbyter and deacon. It appears to reflect better recent historical investigation into the role ordained ministry in the early Church as well as the major themes expressed by both Orthodox and Roman Catholic theologians who have re-emphasized the conciliar and eucharistic nature of the Church.

The section begins with an emphasis upon the Eucharist as the assembly of the believing community in which there is a variety of ministries given by the Spirit and exercised for the common good. "The various ministries converge in the eucharistic synaxis, during which they are conferred" (par. 24). The initial affirmation of the centrality of the Eucharist as the assembly of believers provides a valuable basis for the particular discussion of the ministry of bishop, presbyter, and deacon which follows.

Much attention is paid to the ministry of the bishop. Regarding the relation of the bishop to the rest of the community, the text affirms that "the ministry of the bishop is, among all the charisms and ministries which the Spirit raises up, a ministry of presiding for gathering in unity" (par. 25). This ministry is exercised chiefly through preaching the Gospel, leading the baptized toward Christ, and presiding at the Eucharist (par. 33). Clearly, there is a valuable attempt made in the text to emphasize the interrelationship between the bishop and the local Church as well as to affirm the conciliar nature of the episcopacy. The bishop expresses the unity of the local church and, through his unity with other bishops, he bears witness to the unity of his church with the other local churches. In such a

perspective, there need not be a harsh distinction between the local church and the universal Church.

Precious little is said in the text about the orders of the presbyter and the deacon. In affirming the conciliar character of the ordained ministry, the text affirms that in the Eucharist the presbyters "form the college" gathered about the bishop during that celebration. They exercise the responsibilities the bishop entrusts to them by celebrating the sacraments, teaching the word of God, and governing the community, in profound and continuous communion with him" (par. 41). One can only wish that more could have been said about the tradition which sees the presbyters as the council of advisors about the bishop. It would seem that the image of bishop and presbyters gathered to lead the Eucharist could find clearer expression in other aspects of the life of the local church.

The text does note that the presbyter is the "ordinary minister" of the local eucharistic community (par. 42). Here again, perhaps more could have been said. The fact that both Orthodox and Roman Catholics normally experience the presbyter as their pastor, teacher, and leader of the Eucharist is a fact which is not always given sufficient attention in theological discussions. The corollary fact that the diocesan bishop is frequently viewed as a distant and sometimes disinterested administrator does not reflect the lofty principles of the eucharistic theology.

The discussion of the diaconate is the least developed portion in the New Valamo text. It is noted that the deacon serves as a link between the people and the presbyter and bishop (par. 42). The text summarizes the responsibilities of the deacon by saying that he exercises his ministry "at the service of the bishop and priest, in the liturgy, in the work of evangelization, and in the service of charity" (par. 43). Given the fact that issues associated with the 'revival' of the order of the diaconate are receiving considerable attention in both the churches as well as in certain Protestant traditions, the topic could have benefited from some further elaboration.

The fact that the theologians included a reference to the service of women in the life of the Church is to be commended. "Their particular charisms," the statement affirms, "are very important for the building up of the Body of Christ." The statement continues by recognizing that both Churches "remain faithful to the historical and theological tradition according to which they ordain only men to the priestly ministry" (par. 32). Undoubtedly, further discussion on these

observations can be enriched by reference to the subsequent Inter-Orthodox Consultation on Rhodes in 1988, which dealt with this topic in a balanced, creative, and conciliar manner. The fact that the Rhodes Consultation formally recommended the restoration of the ordination of women to the diaconate and the inclusion of women in the 'minor orders' of the Church deserves greater attention from both Orthodox and Roman Catholic theologians.

The New Valamo text concludes by giving attention to the topic of Apostolic Succession. Central to this section is the valuable observation taken directly from the Munich Statement that "apostolic succession, therefore, means something more than a mere transmission of power. It is a succession in a Church which witnesses to the apostolic faith, in communion with the other Churches, witnesses of the same apostolic faith" (par. 46). While not diminishing the role of the bishop as the principle teacher of the faith, the statement reminds us that there is an intimate connection between the bishop and the community of faith which he leads. This means that apostolic succession "comes also from the fact that the apostolic tradition concerns the community, because the *Una Sancta* is a communion of local churches and not of isolated individuals. It is within this mystery of *koinonia* that the episcopate appears as the central point of the apostolic succession" (par. 45).

The Statement concludes with a very insightful reference to the status of local and ecumenical councils. The council, the statement reminds us, is an important expression of the synodical character of episcopal activity. While variations can be seen from place to place and from one period to another, the guiding principle of the council "is to manifest and make efficacious the life of the Church by joint episcopal action, under the presidency of one whom they recognize as the first among them." Alluding to canon 34 of the Apostolic Canons, the Statement also notes that "the first among the bishops only takes a decision in agreement with other bishops and the latter takes no important decision without the agreement of the first."

Here, the New Valamo is clearly opening up the discussion of the important relationship between conciliarity and primacy. The Statement indicates that the issue of primacy cannot be understood apart from that of conciliarity. There is an interrelationship between both factors in the structure of the Church. While the New Valamo Statement does not deal directly with the issue of the primacy of the Bishop of Rome, the emphasis upon the relationship between primacy and con-

ciliarity is certainly an important theme deserving further reflection by the International Commission.

The text's observation on the nature of an ecumenical council is also of great significance. The statement says: "In ecumenical councils, convened in the Holy Spirit at times of crisis, bishops of the Church, with supreme authority, decided together about the faith and issued canons to affirm the Tradition of the apostles in historic circumstances which directly threatened the faith, unity, and sanctifying work of the whole people of God, and put at risk the very existence of the Church and its fidelity to its founder, Jesus Christ" (par. 54). This statement, which appears to be carefully crafted, is an important observation in its own right and one which can contribute to further discussion about the proper relationship of any primate, and especially the Bishop of Rome, to the larger body of bishops.

Many of the themes touched upon only in a preliminary manner in the New Valamo Statement receive substantial attention in "An Agreed Statement on Conciliarity and Primacy in the Church" issued by the Orthodox-Roman Catholic Consultation in the United States. This Agreed Statement is the result of nearly three years of study by the Consultation of a wide variety of themes related to the organization of the Church. This Statement follows and complements the previous one which was entitled "Apostolicity as God's Gift in the Life of the Church" (1986). While the Consultation does not claim to have resolved all the questions associated with the theology and practice of episcopal councils and episcopal primacies, both Statements represent important steps forward towards a common understanding of critical issues related to the exercise of authority in the Church which have historically divided Orthodox and Roman Catholics.

While this is the first time that the American Consultation has dealt with the topics of conciliarity and primacy in a substantial manner, aspects of these topics were discussed in earlier statements in addition to the "Agreed Statement on Apostolicity" which we have already noted. Among these are the "Agreed Statement on the Church" (1974) and the "Agreed Statement on the Pastoral Office" (1976).

The American theologians affirm in their Joint Statement that conciliarity and primacy are not mutually exclusive principles of ecclesiastical organization. On the contrary, the meeting of bishops in synod and the exercise of leadership by designated primatial bishops

have been present in a complementary manner within the Church since the time of the apostles. There is an interrelationship between the assembly of bishops and the exercise of primacy by one of them.

With reference to this historic interrelationship, the Statement says: "The two institutions, mutually dependent and mutually limiting, which have exercised the strongest influence on maintaining the ordered communion of the Churches since apostolic times, have been the gathering of bishops and other appointed local leaders in synod, and the primacy or recognized preeminence of one bishop among his episcopal colleagues" (par. 6).

The meetings of bishops in synod "are the faithful community's chief expression of the 'care of the Churches' which is central to every bishop's pastoral responsibility, and of the mutual complementary of all the Body's members" (par. 6a). Likewise, the exercise of primacy by a particular bishop "is a service of leadership that has taken many forms throughout Christian history, but that always should be seen as complementary to the function of synods" (par. 6b).

The complementarity of the meeting of bishops in synod and the exercise of primacy by certain bishops is expressed especially by the fact that the presiding bishop is the one who "convenes the synod, presides over its activities, and seeks, together with his colleagues, to assure its continuity in faith and discipline with the apostolic Church; yet, it is the synod which, together with the primate, gives voice and definition to the apostolic tradition. It is also the synod which in most Churches elects the primate, assists him in his leadership and holds him to account for his ministry in the name of the whole Church" (par. 6b).

The theologians recognize in their Agreed Statement that the meaning and exercise of primacy by the Pope, the Bishop of Rome, has been and still remains a major point of disagreement between Orthodox and Roman Catholics. This disagreement has generally centered upon the way in which the historic leadership of the Apostle Peter among the Twelve has been understood.

"The Orthodox," the Statement notes, "have emphasized that the role of Peter within the apostolic college is reflected principally in the role of the bishop within the local Church" (par. 7). This means that every bishop exercises leadership within his diocese as Peter did among the Twelve. Every bishop expresses a Petrine ministry of leadership in a particular place among a particular community of believers. The Roman Catholic view, the Statement continues, emphasizes that

the bishops of Rome from the time of the fourth century claimed "not only the first place of honor among their episcopal colleagues but also the 'Petrine' role of proclaiming the Church's apostolic tradition and of ensuring the observation of canonical practices" (par. 7). This perspective has been the basis for the 'universal primacy' claimed by the bishop of Rome.

While these perspectives have received different emphasis in the two Churches, the Statement affirms that "there is no intrinsic opposition between the two approaches" (par. 7). The Orthodox have in the past accorded to the bishop of Rome 'primacy of honor' by which he was viewed as the 'first among equals.' However, the Statement also recognizes that the Orthodox are opposed to any form of episcopal primacy which "which excludes the collegiality and interdependence of the whole body of bishops . . ." (par. 7). Specifically, the Statement recognizes that the Orthodox continue to reject the formulation of Papal Primacy which has come from the First Vatican Council (1869-1870). For the Orthodox, the issue is not the primacy of the Bishop of Rome. Rather, it is the meaning of that primacy.

The Roman Catholic Church, the theologians note, has been engaged since the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) in further considerations of the doctrine of papal primacy "within the context of a collegially responsible episcopate . . ." (par. 7). The Statement also recognizes that "the Roman Catholic Church is presently seeking new forms of synodical leadership which will be compatible with its tradition of effective universal unity in faith and practice, under the headship of the bishop of Rome" (par. 7).

The implication of these significant observations are very important and certainly provide the basis for further discussions. It is clear that the theologians recognize that the exercise of episcopal primacy and the exercise of episcopal conciliarity are essential to the life and well-being of the Church. While both elements of church organization have been distorted in the past, the theologians also recognize that there is now a need to rediscover their proper expression and mutual relationship in a manner which is more clearly consistent with the practice of the early Church.

Such a rediscovery must also take place with a deepened appreciation of the Church as a community of believers in which there is both a legitimate diversity of charisms and a necessary ordering of charisms. The ministry of the bishop is always directly related to the community

of believers whom he serves as father, teacher, and leader of the Eucharist. As the Statement says: "This ordering of charisms within the community is the basis of the Church's structure and the reason why permanent offices of leadership have been divinely established within the eucharistic body since apostolic times as a service of love and a safeguard of unity in faith and life" (par. 5).

The theologians conclude their Agreed Statement with an important reference to the Ecumenical Councils. They note that the gathering of bishops in these Councils are "the fullest synodal expression of the Church's universal reality . . ." These Councils have been convened "to deal with questions of urgent and universal importance by clarifying and defining the 'ecumenical' faith and practice of the apostolic tradition." The acceptance of the decision of these Councils "constitutes for the whole Body of Christ an event of charismatic unity at the highest level" (par. 8).

The Agreed Statement highlights the fact that both the Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church "agree in recognizing the seven great councils of the early Church as ecumenical in character and import." With this in mind, the Statement affirms that it is in "the reception of a common faith, especially as that faith is formulated by the ecumenical councils, that the Churches experience most authentically the unity in the Lord that is the foundation of eucharistic communion" (par. 8).

For the past twenty-five years, the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Churches have been engaged in formal theological dialogue. The American Consultation was officially established in 1965, and the International Commission held its first formal meeting in 1980. The "New Valamo Statement" of the International Commission and the "Agreed Statement on Conciliarity and Primacy" of the American Commission are built upon a valuable tradition of theological dialogue, Christian fellowship, and prayer. The Statements which have come from these groups already bear witness to the critical value of theological dialogue designed to increase mutual understanding and to contribute to the restoration of full communion between the Churches.

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Church's inner oneness" (p. 146). The following statement articulates the position of the Orthodox on the importance of "truth." He states, "We repudiate the theme that all religions are valid," and he gives the answer why, "because it flattens diversities and ignores contradictions. It not only obscures the meaning of the Christian faith, but also fails to respect the integrity of other faiths." (p. 146).

In the Epilogue the author recommends four steps for primary ecumenical relations of Orthodoxy and various Christian churches and a program for developing "grassroots" ecumenism among the communions involving both clergy and lay leadership that will bring people closer together in the spirit of understanding.

The book is well documented with primary and secondary sources and also includes a bibliography, a general index and a scriptural index that is very helpful to the reader.

The book should be in the hand of all those who are involved in the ecumenical movement and especially the Orthodox faithful who must read it in order to become better informed about the Church's involvement in its relations with other churches. In this way Orthodox Christians would be able to participate more intelligently in "grassroots" ecumenism.

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Proclaiming God's Word Today: Preaching Concerns in the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America. By Stanley Samuel Harakas. Minneapolis: Light and Life, 1989. Pp 100. \$5.95, paper.

Each year Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School hosts "The St. John Chrysostom Lectures on Preaching." Thanks to Father Anthony Coniaris and the St. Mary's Parish in Minneapolis, Minnesota, this theological feast has been sponsored and offered to faculty, student body, and visitors for almost a decade now.

While previous lectures had included highly professional offerings, profound theological studies, and ecumenical endeavors, Father Harakas felt one approach had not yet been explored: "What would an empirical study of the status of preaching in our church yield?" he pondered. Specifically, would it be possible to study empirically the preachers of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese and what they think

about the ministry of preaching? Furthermore, would it be possible to deduce some conclusions about the state of preaching in the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese today? Thus the author embarked on the preparation of three lectures: 1) The State of Preaching in the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese in 1988; 2) Themes for Preaching Orthodoxy Today: Needs, Controversy, Methods; and, 3) Developing Preaching Skills: The 'Skiagraphial' and their Message.

The State of Preaching in The Greek Orthodox Archdiocese-1988

In his first lecture, Father Harakas poses the question: Just what place does preaching have today in the Archdiocese? The author developed a questionnaire and sent it to every priest in the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese in the United States and Canada. The questionnaire covered everything from the significance and importance the priests gave to preaching, to their own preaching ministries in referenc to age, years of service, education, size of parish setting, the nature of the parish setting, use of language, and other such factors. While 551 surveys were sent out a total of 351 valid ones were returned, roughly two thirds.

Interestingly the survey indicated that the preachers are responding to the challenge of the situations they face. Roughly half reported an equal use of Sunday Epistle and Gospel Lectionaries as sources. One fourth said they used other New and Old Testament themes, passages, and events. Half said they drew from the Lives of the Saints, one third from the sacraments, and one fifth from the hymns of the Church.

Another section dealt with the amount of time spent in preparation for Sunday sermons. These statistics were astounding! One third spend from a few minutes to an hour; one fourth spend up to two hours; and, only one third spend over two hours. Nonetheless, eighty-two percent indicated a strong and vigorous sense of the importance of preaching in the priestly ministries.

Father Harakas concludes his first lecture with an assessment of the questionnaire survey. "What emerges from this survey on Preaching in the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese in 1988 is that there is a significant amount of interest in preaching, and a clear sense of responsibility to the preaching ministry." He concludes, "the priests of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese do indeed form a serious, fairly successful "Community of Preachers." Preaching enjoys a signifi-

cant level of respect, and a fairly good record of accomplishment.”

Themes For Preaching Orthodoxy Today: Needs, Controversy, Approaches.

Father Harakas sees two problems: One has to do with a narrow range of sources for sermons and the other has to do with social and moral issues as sources for the topics of sermons. The questionnaire illustrated the need to address the issue of preaching on controversial topics. In the first instance, while the Orthodox Lectionary is designed for daily New Testament scriptural readings in the Church during the church calendar year, in reality the majority of these themes are never touched upon because they are neither read or heard. In addition, the author notes, “Topics having to do with belief, prayer, spiritual discipline, morality, redemption, justification, sanctification, ecclesiology, Trinitarian theology, Christology, eschatology and early Church history, just to name a few, are essentially overlooked.” He adds, “In contemporary language, we could say that Orthodox preaching today is working from an extremely limited database.”

Father Harakas continues, “In reference to the Holy Tradition as a source of our preaching, the potential for expansion is even greater. A little reflection on the vast storehouse of hymnology, and patristic writings now so readily available to us in ever increasing numbers of excellent translations, just to mention two of these sources, shows the riches we are presently overlooking, and which could be profitably used for enrichment of the content of our preaching.” He discusses at length the whole topic of social and moral issues and makes some significant recommendations in incorporating the yearly Orthodox Lectionary as two inexhaustible sources for sermon themes and materials.

Developing Preaching Skill: The ‘Skiagraphiai’ And Their Message.

Father Harakas draws an interesting parallel between the preaching during the four century-long period that the Greek Orthodox people spent under the Ottoman yoke and the Orthodox people in America today. The Byzantine centuries which preceded “Tourkokratia” were characterized with “high rhetoric” preaching, says the author. The “Tourkokratia” changed all that, he contends, as he continues, “Preaching had to become more popular, more direct, and more simple; more focused on the essentials of the Christian way

of life, if Orthodox Christianity were to survive.” And he quotes from various historians and writers to substantiate his premise. It is the contention of the author that there is a great need for the same kind of preaching in America today. He demonstrates this point by illustrating with a short work located in the National Library of Greece in Athens, under the title, ‘Skiagraphiai’ or ‘Sketchings.’ The author of this eighteenth century manuscript combines direct instruction as to how a sermon ought to be constructed with the specific text as he would expect the sermon to be preached. Father Harakas then proceeds to present an example from the translated text on the topic of ‘greed.’ So that the reader may have an experience of the style and method, Father Harakas concludes by correlating the responses of the questionnaire with the applied message of the ‘Sketchings.’ He then offers some sample comments made by preacher priests.

Fr. Harakas, Archbishop Iakovos Professor of Orthodox Theology at Holy Cross, has the unique ability to take a sound Orthodox Christian doctrine and present it to an audience of people from diverse intellectual backgrounds in a concise and understandable manner. He has done this again in this instance as well and therefore we are indebted to him for this book. It is a must for every Orthodox preacher!

George Nicozisin
St. Louis, Missouri

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Respectful Salutations*

ALKIVIADIS CALIVAS

Παναγιώτατε!

THERE IS A FABLE TOLD OF AN OLD MAN WHO JOURNEYED TO AMERICA holding close to his chest a beautiful swan, which he had raised to give to his children. When the old man arrived in the new country, however, the immigration official took the swan away from him, leaving the man with only one swan feather as a memory. Having kept the feather, the old man one day called his grandchildren together giving them the feather and saying: "This feather may look humble and even worthless, but it comes from afar; it carries with it all my good intentions and the richness of your tradition." He told them his story and ended with the words, "Be more than what is hoped for you!"¹

Your All Holiness,

I have been given the single honor and special privilege of representing the venerable clergy of our holy Archdiocese at this unprecedented and memorable event. On their behalf, Your All Holiness, I offer you our most respectful salutations and reverential embrace as an expression of our filial love. We welcome you to our country with joyous celebration, having looked forward to this moment with

*Given on the occasion of the clergy luncheon in honor of Patriarch Dimitrios in Washington, D.C.

¹This story was inspired by and adopted from one that is related by Amy Tan in her novel *The Joy Luck Club* (New York, 1988). The story is symbolic. It carries several ideas and meanings. Two are especially significant. First, the story speaks of the value and power of tradition, which needs to be recovered, sustained, and transmitted. Second, it seeks to describe the dynamic, rigorous, and enabling character of the tradition, which allows us to transcend every limitation, in order "to be more than what is hoped for!" This latter theme is central to the address and is the unspoken conclusion of most paragraphs.

great anticipation and expectation.

Like Abraham of old who greeted his divine guests beneath the shady oak at Mamre, we welcome you with the unstinted liberality of our affection and respect. From that visit of the Angels at Mamre came the unanticipated promise to Sarah that Isaac would be born. In your visit to us, may we not hope that a heavenly purpose is at work? As divine grace quickened the barren womb of Sarah, may your visit quicken our resolve to be the Church for this land.

We cherish deeply our bond of unity with the Ecumenical Patriarchate. You constitute for us the assurance for the creative continuity of our ecclesial life. Through you and with you we experience the deathless vitality of the Orthodox spirit, vision, ethos, and phronema. No one has fostered our love for and devotion to the Ecumenical Patriarchate with greater faithfulness than our own beloved, respected, remarkably charismatic, and dynamic spiritual father, Archbishop Iakovos.

Your presence in our midst, Your All Holiness, affords us the opportunity to renew our deep appreciation of our rich spiritual and cultural heritage, the origins of which are rooted deeply in the Greek and Roman world of remote antiquity. We value this heritage greatly and are committed to preserve and transmit it to our children.

In these critical moments of world history, when the face of the world is being reshaped and reformed by many forces, Your presence in our midst reminds us, that as the Church, we must not be mere bystanders but active participants in the unfolding process of history. The story of the Ecumenical Patriarchate — deeply evangelical and pastoral, remarkably creative, strikingly resilient, and wonderfully responsive to new situations and changing circumstances — challenges the local churches today to come out of their protective bunkers, and be as bold as the early Church and break new roads by proclaiming and giving meaning to the Gospel and church life to a world, which so desperately cries out for direction and fulfillment. Your story teaches us that the treasures we are in danger of losing are not legacies of the past, as much as they are the gifts of the Spirit which will be necessary to endure and cultivate that which lies ahead. We are obliged by the Gospel not to allow ourselves to become the captives of the past, but to act in the present with prophetic vision and boldness, and to build and form the future in accordance with God's will and purposes.

In response to the moral and spiritual imperatives of the Gospel,

we are obliged to rise above every fear, surmount every obstacle, transcend every prejudice, which would deny the catholicity of our Church, seek to restrict her vision, limit her outreach and mission, and seal her doors. The Church is God's eternal witness; the sacrament of God's love for everyone. The Church is the sign and harbinger of God's kingdom in the midst of the contradictions and anomalies of the fallen world. The Church has no borders and knows no fences. She is the house of all, the universal community.

Your All Holiness!

We have become an indigenous church. We are a settled and stable community with a distinct responsibility to this land, this people, and the generations that will come after us. We find ourselves in a time and place that is faced with many burdens and problems, as well as untold possibilities. While the issues of jurisdictional disunity, ethnicity, and language are relevant concerns worthy of every consideration, what is really at stake in America is the opportunity to make a lasting difference. America needs a new spiritual force to judge and inform, as well as help to restore and transfigure its system of aims, concerns, and habits. Orthodoxy must bring the insights and concerns of her unique biblical and patristic tradition with new found vigor and power into mainline discussions about the nature and future of our society and the meaning and purpose of all existence. May your visit prompt us to acknowledge and accept both the challenge and the opportunity for a new, virgous, and dynamic *martyria* of Orthodoxy in the Americas. You have taught us that Orthodoxy is not only a tradition, but a task and a way of life. It is a seed of life, which sprouts and blossoms; it is our duty and mission to preserve and facilitate the continued blossoming of Orthodoxy in this land.

In that distinct corner of the world, once traversed by countless martyrs, confessors, and teachers of the Faith, the Ecumenical Patriarchate stands resolutely as a living proof of the potential for continuity and newness in the midst of the uncertainties, ambiguities, and adversities of history. Though institutions around you have collapsed, some having perished, you remain the undaunted peaceful servant of the crucified and risen Lord. As the pillar and guarantor of Orthodoxy, the Ecumenical Patriarchate continues to be that witness which inspires, guides and embodies the unbroken unity of worship, dogma and church order.

For this reason, we look to you to carry us forward to the threshold

of a new era of harmony, cooperation, and solidarity among Orthodox Churches in this hemisphere. We look to you for those lasting creative solutions that will help us overcome the disjunctures of our jurisdictional disunity. Orthodoxy is larger than our multicultural traditions. We look to you for that model of unification, under the Eccumenical Patriarchate, which will honor the diversities of our local particularities, but all the while ensure the canonical unity of Orthodoxy in our land.

Your All Holiness!

Please accept our profound gratitude, as well as our warmest best wishes for long, healthy, peaceful, and joyous years. We rejoice in your gentleness, kindness, sweetness, goodness, and evangelical simplicity and meekness. The inner treasures and reserves of your spiritual power permit us to perceive the meaning of the words of our Lord Jesus: "Blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the earth."

Finally, the steadfast faith and perseverance of your heroic flock in Constantinople inspire us and remind us of our own obligation and mission to help people discover the godly truths of human existence, the sacramentality and transparency of the cosmos, and the lordship of the incarnate Word of God, through whom all things were made and things acquire a newness of life.

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Review Article: Vigen Guroian,
Incarnate Love: Essays in Orthodox Ethics

STANLEY S. HARAKAS

VIGEN GUROIAN'S BOOK, *INCARNATE LOVE: ESSAYS IN ORTHODOX ETHICS* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1988), raises some extremely important issues for the Orthodox today in regard to their relationship with the contemporary world in which they live. This book is a competent exposition of a particular approach to Orthodox ethics today. More importantly, it provokes some methodological and theological questions for the Orthodox Church as it seeks to define its place in North America.

The volume is a collection of essays which focus on the author's intended subject — theological ethics from an Orthodox Christian perspective, worked out consciously and specifically from within a North American context.

Incarnate Love is divided into three main sections, each with two or three chapters, for a total of seven chapters. Of these, five are previously published essays and two were specifically written for this book. Guroian presents his volume as an Orthodox ethic whose purpose it is "to awaken Orthodox to the social ethical problems facing their church in North America and to the possibilities for the church's American future," (p. 4). In spite of this, the majority of the chapters are directed to the community of scholars in the field of ethics in America, not directly to the leadership and membership of the Orthodox churches.

It should be noted before proceeding further, that though the book has an order and flow, from the general to the concrete, it is a book of *essays*. It does not present itself as a systematic treatment of

Orthodox ethics. This is a book of serious theology and serious ethics, but it ought not to be read as a book presenting a foundational theory of Orthodox ethics. Nevertheless, Guroian provokes his Orthodox readers to grapple with crucial foundational concepts. He forces his Orthodox readers to reflect critically on their place, viewpoints, calling and challenge — precisely as Orthodox Christians — in the North American reality.

The seven chapters of the book are divided into three parts. "Theanthropic Ethics," is the title of part one, which includes two essays. The initial chapter is an overview of the theology of the Orthodox Church and the ethical stance which flows from it. Taking into account the major Trinitarian, anthropological, and soteriological teachings of the Orthodox faith, it moves from the implications of these beliefs to a treatment of virtue, understood primarily as rooted in love and as union with God. The relationship of these with the kingdom of God then follows.

The second chapter, "Theanthropic Ethics," is a treatment of Christian love. Love is seen as rooted in the theological vision of Orthodox Christianity, not as a moralistic concept. Guroian's understanding of love is based on the central doctrines of the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation. As key ideas for understanding love he uses reciprocity and mutuality. The author affirms the essential inter-relatedness of *agape* and *eros* in Orthodox Christian ethics, in contrast to the theological ethics of some Western traditions. Guroian is expository in this section. He does not seek to engage Roman Catholic and Protestant ethicists in his reflections. The balance of the book serves to alter this focus, so that the non-Orthodox are in fact brought into conversation and engagement with Guroian's presentation of Orthodox ethics. It is important to note this when evaluating this volume, especially from the perspective of the methodology of Orthodox ethics.

The second part, "Liturgical Ethics," also includes two chapters, beginning with the intriguingly titled third chapter "Seeing Worship as Ethics." Here, the author uncovers the ability of the Church's worship to form believers morally in specific and concrete ways, both individually and corporately. He also discovers in the liturgical resources of Orthodoxy a prophetic function by which Orthodox Christians and others are confronted by their failures and sinfulness.

As an example, Guroian offers a liturgico-ethical treatment of marriage in chapter four, titled "An Ethic of Marriage and Family." In

this chapter the specific approach which characterizes Guroian's thought on issues of ethics comes to the fore. His understanding of ethics is consciously molded by an almost exclusive sacramental and eschatological framework. Ethics functions best in this approach as a method of heuristic critique and vision building.

The last part of the book, "Social Ethics" contains the final three chapters. They do not purport to address the issues of social ethics in a comprehensive way. Nevertheless, there is a clear focus, an articulation of a view which the author feels is a radical departure from the past. It is here that Guroian functions best as an exponent of a view in Orthodox ethics today, which emphasizes the critical a prophetic stance toward culture, society and nation. For Guroian, ethics is not primarily a method for providing detailed guidance to the faithful for day to day living; instead, it provides a critique of existing practice and mentality. Thus, ethics as prophetic critique is the dominant methodological approach throughout the volume. The adequacy of this approach is a core issue for Orthodox Christian ethical theory.

His views on involvement/uninvolvement by Orthodox Christians in the larger society are primarily expressed in the fifth chapter, "The Problem of a Social Ethic: Diaspora Reflections," and in the sixth chapter, "Orthodoxy and American Order: *Symphonia*, Civil Religion or What?" He proposes what he calls a "missiologial social ethic," which he admittedly recognizes as a challenge, rather than as an accepted or received viewpoint among the Orthodox. This ethical stance focuses, as one can see from the title of chapter six, on the Orthodox church-state relationship.

The last chapter is the only one of the seven chapters that is specifically addressed to the Orthodox. As an in-house document, it is reflective of Armenian history and experience in the U. S. A. Yet, the comments about the diaspora crisis situation among the Armenian Orthodox have their parallels in most of the Orthodox jurisdictions on the North American scene. Here he points to issues such as the perpetuation of ethnicity and the secularizing forces which have impacted on Orthodox communities. He offers suggestions for resisting secularization, in a manner thoroughly consistent with the views presented in section two.

Appreciative Evaluations

This is a good book for many reasons, which commend it to every

Orthodox theologian, clergyman, theological student, and well-grounded lay person. It deserves careful and attentive reading as a well-informed, competent, and well-articulated piece of theological writing. Its very existence is welcome in that it allows discussion to take place on Orthodox ethics. Orthodox theologians and church leaders should look forward to the day when additional studies in Orthodox ethics will follow, producing a "community of discourse," among the Orthodox on the theoretical and practical ethical questions which face us as a church in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

In addition, Guroian's book has made history. It is the first volume on Orthodox ethics to be published by a major non-Orthodox publishing house, the University of Notre Dame Press. This fact indicates a "coming of age" for Orthodox Christian ethics, in that a non-Orthodox publisher considered the topic not only worthy of attention, but was convinced that there was an adequate readership for it. That it is soon to come out in paperback form validates that judgment. Just a short time ago large academic publishers would not risk the publication of a book on Orthodox ethics.

Incarnate Love is a good book for inter-Orthodox purposes, as well. Guroian writes consciously as an Armenian Orthodox, that is, as a member of the Oriental Orthodox family of churches. But he also writes with the sense that he speaks for and to the Orthodox in general. Familiar as he is with both the Armenian and Byzantine traditions, his book realizes in practice the fruits of a long series of Byzantine Orthodox/Oriental Orthodox dialogues and is the outgrowth of the inclusion of both Eastern and Oriental Orthodox in consultations and discussions sponsored by the World Council of Churches. It is important to note that nothing foundationally theological in this volume separates Guroian as an Oriental Orthodox from his Eastern Orthodox co-workers.

One of the great strengths of this book is that in an authentically Orthodox way, the author avoids a sterile rationalistic approach to the questions of Orthodox theology and ethics. Though he does draw on doctrine for his ethical teachings, his sources are primarily located in the inner life of the Church, especially in its eucharistic and ecclesial dimensions. He knows that the Church lives its faith and outlook in its worship. Of particular interest for Eastern Orthodox Christians is the use of insightful and illuminating passages from the Armenian liturgical traditions; gems that illustrate important Orthodox

perspectives. Eastern Orthodox readers of this volume will be grateful for sharing these Armenian liturgical treasures.

Areas for Discussion

As noted above, with the exception of the last chapter, the volume is clearly oriented toward a non-Orthodox audience, effectively introducing the Orthodox perspective to them by means of literary and liturgical forms. This focus is constant with the book's mission sense, and in harmony with the best incarnational traditions of Orthodoxy.

Yet, it might be that this very process has caused him to re-work his message and material in a way that separates him from the tradition in a significant way. While seeking to make corrections to that tradition, he might be identifying too readily with certain parts of his non-Orthodox audience. The dependence of his thought on certain contemporary Protestant writers does seem to inspire prescriptive corrections for certain tendencies in the Orthodox ethical theory. The question is whether this dependence moves him to a one sided emphasis. I speak specifically about the strong influence on his writing of Stanley Hauerwas and John Howard Yoder. Their views move Guroian in the direction of an exclusively "detached/critical approach" in social ethics.

One could maintain that in a non-Orthodox environment, the only possible way for an ethicist to do his work is a direct engagement with the practicing ethicists of the day. Yet, it must be admitted that Orthodox ethicists in the English speaking world have hardly begun doing the work consciously and integrally as a discipline of theological reflection from within and for the Orthodox Church itself.

Surely Orthodox ethics ought not be studied exclusively from that perspective, just as the Fathers of the Church did not do so in their writings. But a case can be made that what is needed at this time is the development of an Orthodox perspective on ethics in general and in its specifics which draws primarily on the whole history and experience of the Orthodox Church. In this perspective, the Orthodox Church needs to understand its present status in the light of its history as a whole. Consequently, it must do its work consciously out of its own traditions and theological panoply. Otherwise, Orthodox ethics will be inordinately subject to the influences wrought by other people's debates, problems and issues.

Guroian's acceptance of Hauerwas as a major source for his ethical

task leads him to adopt a strongly focused virtue ethic. In doing so, he has focused, as has Hauerwas, on a necessary corrective to western activist, deed-oriented understandings of ethics in the Protestant mainline tradition. In addition, he has also tapped one very important aspect of Orthodox ethics: Guroian's focus on virtue is essentially a "character ethic." As such, it is an essential aspect of Orthodox Ethics.

The problem with this focus in Guroian's work, however, is that it becomes an almost exclusive understanding for the living of the Christian life. It functions in a manner that makes the Christian thoroughly separate from his cultural context. The impression is created that the focus on character ethics leads Guroian toward a sectarian position.

The influence of John Howard Yoder, who is rooted in the Anabaptist pacifist tradition, is quite present in the next steps of Guroian's treatment of Orthodox ethics. The one remaining contact with cultural surroundings becomes almost exclusively one of criticism. This too, is an element of the Orthodox vision as it has expressed itself throughout history. In particular, it is found in the ascetic traditions of anchorite monasticism. Other aspects of the tradition, such as cenobitic monasticism, and the liturgical/eucharistic traditions do so, but not so sharply.

At work in Guroian's book is an appropriate effort to lift up this essentially discontinuous aspect of the Church's identity to a more prominent place in contemporary Orthodox thinking. It is an attack on too easy accommodation to an increasingly secular environment. This message is not only necessary at this time and in this place, but it is also essential to a balanced and inclusive Orthodox perspective. The message is important.

The problem with it is that the corrective is being applied in a too heavy handed way. There appears to be an almost exclusive advocacy on behalf of the critical stance of ethics. The real issue is whether it is the only message and the only focus which ought to characterize an Orthodox social ethic as it seeks to find a way to relate to the North American environment.

A Case in Social Ethics

One of the foils Guroian uses in his book to develop his social ethic is an article of mine which seeks to present and analyze the

traditional Orthodox concept of "symphonia" in church-state relationships, and to adapt it to an admittedly different and even contrary system of church-state relationships in the United States today. The article "Orthodox Church-State Theory and American Democracy," served his purposes well. His analysis placed the article in the company of those Protestants and Roman Catholics on the American scene who have — in his view — adopted a "neo-Constantinian approach" to church-state relations. He sees this stance as causing "the surrender of their evangelical witness . . . compounded by a long history of compromise and accommodation . . ." (p. 148). Among those so accused are Washington Gladden, Walter Rauschenbusch, Josiah Strong, John Richard Neuhaus, and John Courtney Murray. In the following passage Guroian develops this idea.

Under the American arrangement of separation and under the influence of a pervasive secularism, which by its very nature dismisses the reality of God's active presence in this world, those who rule worry not — certainly not in any conscientious public way — how they stand before God, though, as yet, most do not hesitate to use God's name to sanctify their own politics or the self-interest of the nation. The churches accept this utilitarian definition of their nature and purpose. In America the parade of church leaders is unceasing who, seeking to influence the actors in the worldly exercise of dominion, assume for themselves the mind set of those who rule by the sword rather than by the power of the Cross.

The assessment embodies so sharply in the position outlined above needs careful attention in order to see it for itself and in relationship to an Orthodox Christian social ethic. This can be accomplished by examining Guroian's positive suggestions. Guroian invites the Orthodox to adopt what he calls a "missiological social ethic."

By this, he means that social ethics should utilize the mission models of proclamation and example. The first, a proclamatory tradition, is to speak the Word as a condemnation of sin and as the proclamation of the good news of salvation to those "outside" (the non-believer, culture, the state, etc.). This approach to missions keeps the proclaimer essentially distinct from the object of these ministrations. The exemplary tradition, does missionary work only by being an example for others, without overt missionary activity.

It is correct that these approaches are found the Orthodox tradition of missions. The first has sometimes succeeded, but nearly always

it has done so on individualistic bases, having failed in converting peoples together with their cultures. Its colonialist mentality has provoked a sharp reaction today in the third world. Even though colonialism is primarily a western Christian phenomenon, Orthodox mission history has some sordid examples of colonialism, as well.

The exemplary model has also been present in Orthodox mission history. For much of Orthodox history, it was a necessity forced upon it by circumstances. Its passive character has sometimes also succeeded — for example, in the early stages of the Church's expansion across the vast frontiers of the growing Russian nation.

But mainline Orthodox mission theory has not been characterized by these approaches. Instead, there has been a nation and culture building dimension to Orthodox mission theory and practice. James Stamoolis' *Eastern Orthodox Mission Theology Today* is a valuable resource for understanding this incarnational Orthodox approach to missions. It is useful to rehearse some of these ancient Orthodox missiological perspectives: the preaching of the message of salvation in the language of the receiving people; the translation of the Scriptures and the Divine Liturgy into the language of the people very rapidly; the adoption of local traditions and customs wherever these did not conflict with core Christian teaching; and the rapid indigenization of the clergy; the fostering of the idea of Orthodox Christian nationhood.

Did this mean compromise and capitulation to the cultural environment? Not from the Orthodox perspective. It was seen, as an expression of Orthodox Christianity's incarnational approach to missions meant a close relationship of the Church with culture, and effort to penetrate it and re-form it into a vehicle of Christian values. While the incarnational missionary approach was capable of prophetic critique, it did not rest there. The Church also understood its mission as requiring it to work for the transfiguring of culture and society.

This model of mission may well have been, and many would hold, still is, the most authentic and appropriate model for Orthodox social ethics. Yet, it too, is not the whole picture. Unfortunately, the critique of my article on church-state relations in this book, analyzed it as if it were a complete theology of the Church's social ethic. This is not the case. More on the level of "tactics" the paper sought to apply the mainline and central incarnational Orthodox tradition in a positive way to the American democratic situation.

Certain implications are made of this perspective which are

unjustified. Attribution of subservience to the reigning secular values is just inaccurate and gratuitous. This must be said for myself, but also for the others mentioned in the chapter.

There is another point to be made in this context. For Western scholars to subscribe to a Gibbonesque understanding of church-state relations and church-culture relationships in Byzantium might be understandable, if not excusable. But it is hardly acceptable for Orthodox writers to perpetuate charges of Caesaropapism in Byzantine church-state, church-culture relations. Scholarship in Byzantine history has long ago moved beyond such simple analysis. I would refer the reader to J. M. Hussey's *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*, and in particular, to her treatment of "The Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Emperor" (Part 2, 2) for an explication of the modern historical view of church-state relations in Byzantium. It shows both a critical stance as well as a cooperative stance on the part of the Church in its relationship with the State. This perspective informs much of the thinking in my "Church-State and Democracy" article.

Most telling, is Guroian's assumption of an either/or approach. The position espoused bears a dominantly sectarian character. The outreach dimension of Christianity, which involves the Church in the less than perfect aspects of the social, cultural and political realities, is effectively rejected as a legitimate Christian concern. This view fails to see that in the pastoral, missiological and social ethics spheres, that the Church ought to involve itself in outreach. It thus deals with people and circumstances as they are empirically. In such circumstances, the Church has historically been motivated to move the less perfect realities — as much as is possible for them to be moved — into the sphere of the light and radiance of the kingdom. This has meant in practice, affirming a half-loaf of bread, rather than a whole and perfect cake, with the expectation that the grace of the Holy Spirit will take up the task of perfection in a process of growth.

Of course, there *are* discontinuities between the Church and that which is not church. Sometimes, (and in certain situations, oftentimes) it is necessary to assume a stance of prophetic criticism. It is an important and necessary reminder of this which Guroian provides. But because this book tends to do so uninfluenced by other equally important and necessary dimensions of the relationship of the Church to the world, it collapses into what amounts to an almost self-enclosed understanding of the social role of the Orthodox Church.

It is content with a prophetic condemnation of the evils in society, together with providing a distinctive, yet essentially discontinuous example by Christians for the rest of the world. As articulated, it encourages a passive, uninvolved stance in the concrete and empirical issues and problems faced by the North American society today.

Guroian however does not articulate his position so that it becomes as strongly confrontational as do some other Orthodox thinkers on these matters. One of these is Fr. Michael Azkoul in his important study "The Greek Fathers and Paideia." Nevertheless, the effect of this book is to foster nearly the same antagonism to culture. It is indicated by the repeated use of an "antinomy" image throughout these chapters to characterize the relationship of the Church and culture. After the fashion of some of Fr. Georges Florovsky's treatment of the subject in the book *Christianity and Culture*, Guroian gives a one-sided account of the problem. It is well-known that while Florovsky's treatment of the culture-faith problem in the Byzantine Church was strong on analysis, it was without guidance for the church of today. This was so because, in typological fashion, the discontinuous aspects of monastic life were made into an exclusive world-denying type, while the historical realities of the monastic tradition which included many culture-affirming values were hardly mentioned. One striking example of the culture-affirming dimensions of Byzantine monasticism was the development of the institution of the hospital by Orthodox monastics. This remarkable fact has been thoroughly documented by Timothy Miller in his book, *The Origin of the Hospital in Byzantium*. It is another vivid example of the wider perspectives of Orthodox Christianity. It shows how the incarnational aspects of the Orthodox faith have historically been expressed.

Yet, the sectarian mind-set is particularly welcome in some corners of the Orthodox theological world today. Some theologians and ecclesiastics would like to absolutize this retreat into a self-enclosed liturgical and eucharistic understanding of Orthodox Christianity. For many reasons the Orthodox have forgotten the Church's history of concerned Christian involvement in the world's needs and problems. Paradoxically, for this volume, the danger as Orthodox in the United States has not been an over-involvement in addressing the world's problems from an Orthodox perspective, but the opposite. It seems as if Guroian's prescriptions could (will?) lead to more of the same introverted and unconcerned self-contemplation and triumphalistic self-satisfaction, even though such a development is clearly neither desired

nor intended by this book.

Toward a Whole Social Ethic

A Comprehensive Orthodox social ethic must recognize the truth that its approach must be multi-faceted. This understanding certainly will cultivate and demand what Guroian has called a virtue ethic on the personal level.

In addition, a balanced Orthodox approach to social ethics will acknowledge that the evil in the world must be criticized and condemned. There will always be aspects of any society to which the Church must consistently offer a prophetic "No!" and a separatist "Stop!" The lines between the sinful "world" and that which is Christian must be drawn. There is plenty of warrant in Scriptures and the Tradition to make that an imperative. But an apocalyptic "Gog and Magog" confrontation with the evil does not exhaust the Church's mission. It is only one side of a multi-sided equation.

Just as important, the Church must engage in the battle against social evil, motivated and informed by its vision of the Kingdom. One way of struggling against evil and for the good, is for the Church to incarnate itself into societies, so as to transform them — as much as they are capable — into societies which embody some Kingdom values.

In the end, the major criticism of this book is not that it fails in taking steps to develop an Orthodox Christian social ethic; it does not complete the task.

A Concluding Word

Thus, every Eastern Orthodox Christian who reads Guroian's *Incarnate Love* will be grateful to him for his important reminder and prophetic caution regarding compromise with the world and its ways. It is an important work for the discipline of Orthodox ethics.

But, it must also be remembered that this is only one of several dimensions of the Orthodox Christian ethic. The other aspects ought not to be obscured, especially the Church's incarnational mission to the world. Guroian's emphasis while valid, needs to be included in a larger and more inclusive perspective.

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**Special Academic Convocation
in Honor of His All Holiness
Patriarch Dimitrios I**

BISHOP METHODIOS

ON BEHALF OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES, THE ADMINISTRATION, FACULTIES, students, and staff of Hellenic College-Holy Cross, I extend a warm welcome to you. Thank you for joining us today at this special convocation. I especially greet the hierarchs and the distinguished entourage who accompany our beloved Ecumenical Patriarch. I welcome the Ecumenical Church Community, the judicatory heads, the Massachusetts Council of Churches, the Massachusetts Council of Christian Unity and our Orthodox brethren. I welcome the members of the Boston Theological Community. In the person of my good friend Dr. John Silber, I welcome all our colleagues representing colleges and universities in the Greater Boston area. This is truly a historic and blessed day for the Hellenic College-Holy Cross Community.

Your Holiness, Hellenic College-Holy Cross is the noblest, most creative, and most expressive manifestation of the vision and faith of the faithful of this Archdiocese. No other church in the world is so identified with an academic institution as is our Archdiocese with Hellenic College-Holy Cross. The institution is the guarantor of the future of the Greek Orthodox Church in this hemisphere. Here, the priceless features of our faith and culture are entrusted from generation to generation of students. In fact, since 1937, when founded by the then visionary Archbishop — later to become Patriarch Athenagoras — over 550 graduates of this institution have served as clergymen throughout the Western Hemisphere, and indeed the whole world.

We are the beneficiaries of a great *Parakatathiki* — a sacred treasure, which is the foundation of this institution, guided these past thirty-one years by Archbishop Iakovos who labors tirelessly so that Hellenic College-Holy Cross may continue the long legacy of excellence of the Patriarchal School at Halki.

Here, theological education is cultivated in close relationship with liturgical experience, the needs of the Church, and the existential needs of modern society. We do not deny the past nor are we blind to present-day realities. We believe that in order to face the challenges of the third millenium, our students must be deeply rooted theologically and culturally. Keenly knowledgeable of our Greek and Orthodox cultures, strengthened by their dynamism, we strive to manifest the catholicity and relevance of our faith.

The honorary Doctorate of Divinity to be presented to you, Your All Holiness, the leader of world Orthodoxy, is the expression of the love, respect, and devotion we have for your person and the Ecumenical Patriarchate. As our father and celebrant of the catholicity of Orthodoxy, you teach us the tenets of the faith through your theologically profound messages, and through your ecumenical initiatives by which you express the message of salvation which leads all to the unity of faith in truth.

Through your Pan-Orthodox and ecumenical pilgrimage of reconciliation, peace, and unity, you convey to all the peoples of the world the assurance that Christ is the fulfillment of the expectations of humanity, the only sure foundation of universal peace.

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**Statement of the Inter-Orthodox Commission
for the Theological Dialogue between
the Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church**

INTER-ORTHODOX COMMISSION

1. WE, THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CHURCHES OF CONSTANTINOPLE, Alexandria, Antioch, Russia, Serbia, Roumania, Georgia, Greece, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Finland to the Theological Dialogue between the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Churches, convened at the Phanar in an extraordinary convocation — at the invitation of his All Holiness the Ecumenical Patriarch Dimitrios who responded, in his coordinating responsibility, to the relevant request of the Orthodox Delegation to the Joint Commission assembled at Freising, and under the chairmanship of His Eminence Metropolitan Bartholomaios of Chalcedon who was especially invited to chair this meeting, as well as in the presence of the members of the synodical commissions of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, on Inter-Orthodox matters on the one hand, and on the Dialogue with the Roman Catholic Church on the other hand — discussed thoroughly for two days (December 11-12, 1990) the acute problem of Uniatism which exists in different countries of Eastern Europe in order to evaluate more accurately the abnormal situation created and to reach a common decision as to our attitude toward the Theological Dialogue begun ten years ago.

2. The representatives of the Orthodox Churches directly afflicted by Uniatism, particularly in recent times in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, described at length the situation and dramatic events taking place to the detriment of the Orthodox, which surpass every imagination and which have filled all the participants with bit-

terness and disappointment. All the participants agreed that the revitalization of Uniatism today is accompanied by the bold violation of human rights and religious freedom. This is expressed in particular by the use of direct violence against individuals through the abuse of the legislative process, as well as through the suspect manipulation of the institutions of the State administration.

3. Likewise, reference was made to the efforts made up to now for a peaceful and just settlement of the relevant local problems, as well as to the contiguous strong representations made by the primates of the Orthodox Churches in question to the Vatican and to all responsible authorities as well as by the Ecumenical Patriarchate to the Vatican, all of which unfortunately have borne no result toward improving the situation.

4. All the participants agreed that the Dialogue existing between the Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church should become an efficient mechanism for overcoming problems which occur between both Churches because of the revitalization of Uniatism. This very problem dangerously reverses the objectives of the Dialogue. It is quite evident that without a positive solution to the problem, all the efforts of the Orthodox and of the Roman Catholics towards promoting the relations between them and achieving the objectives of the Dialogue will be in vain. Therefore, all the participants believe that the theme of Uniatism must be the sole theme of our Dialogue today. . . . In this Dialogue both partners are called upon to elaborate together a framework of principles for settling the relations between the Orthodox and Uniates, and on this basis to contribute to the elimination of acts of violence in specific regions. Under these presuppositions, the Dialogue will help Orthodox and Roman Catholics to bring about not only temporary peace, but a just, radical, and final solution to the problem.

5. Following the irregular situation created — and which in many ways persists — in the relations between the Orthodox and the Uniates, there certainly can be no justifiable optimism for the further continuation of the Theological Dialogue, if the common Statement of the Joint Commission for the Dialogue, convened in Freising, did not exist as the only positive sign to the issue at hand, through which statement — without overlooking the religious freedom of the Uniates — the method of Uniatism was unanimously rejected as completely contrary to the ecclesiology of communion and to the spirit of sister Churches, especially when the latter are involved in the

dialogue.

6. This common Statement of Freising in which Uniatism as a method is rejected, must constitute the starting point and the basis for further deliberations on the matter within the framework of the Theological Dialogue.

7. Once this major question is settled in a just and Christian manner, the Theological Dialogue would be then expanded, unhindered to all the subjects foreseen by its organic development.

8. In order to normalize the relations between Orthodox and Uniates, it was recognized that it would be useful to evaluate annually, within the framework of the Inter-Orthodox Commission for the Dialogue with the Roman Catholic Church, Orthodox/Roman Catholic relations, including the situation in regions involved in conflict.

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Orthodoxy but respectful of other perceptions, praiseful of its strengths but also articulate of Orthodoxy's limitations in questions of current bioethical issues — these are some of the author's strengths.

The last chapter should be of particular interest to Orthodox Christians because it provides authoritative information on the Church's attitude toward some burning issues and vital questions such as thanatology, euthanasia, autopsy, donation of organs, cremation and more. The therapeutic nature of memorial services and the *makaria* meals is beautifully explained. In brief, Orthodox and non-Orthodox Christians, religious and non-religious professionals will find in the present book much food for thought and reflection. All will realize why notwithstanding its travails and persecutions, misinterpretations and martyrdoms, Orthodox Christianity is a religion of hope and optimism "immersed in resurrection faith."

Demetrios J. Constantelos

Richard Stockton College of New Jersey

The Ascetical Homilies of Saint Isaac the Syrian. Translated by the Holy Transfiguration Monastery. Boston: Holy Transfiguration Monastery, 1984. Pp. cxv + 570. Hardbound. \$46.00.

More and more we are happily updating translations of important works of the Christian Fathers that were not hitherto easily available to the English-speaking reader. It has been particularly unusual to have works from the Church of Persia, which, even during its brightest days, was very much isolated from the rest of Christianity. Particularly illuminating is the work of Saint Isaac, Bishop of Nineveh, about whom we know some things from Syriac sources. Shortly after his elevation to the episcopate, he abdicated this position to dwell in the mountain of Matout and lived in stillness with other anchorites. He was well versed in divine literature and wrote books on the divine discipline of solitude. It has been calculated that he wrote around 688 A. D. He was presumably around 75 years old at the time of the *Homilies*. The principle purpose of the *Homilies* is the instruction of those in the desert, that is, the book is aimed at monastics and the conduct of the monastic life, but both monastics and laity can gain from the instruction guidance for living the angelic life in stillness (hesychasm). The translators have overcome tremendous odds in put-

ting together this superb translation that, in addition to the *Homilies*, contains a selection from *The Book of Grace*, *An Epistle to Abba Symeon of Caesareei*, *The First Syriac Epistle of Saint Makarios of Egypt*, and *An Epistle on Stillness — Prayer* by Mar John the Solitary, a brief historical and theological introduction to the church of Persia to the end of the seventh century, indices of subject and scriptural passages, extensive notes, plus a Foreword, short questions from the *Ascetical Homilies*, a historical account of the life and writings of Saint Isaac the Syrian, and a table of homily equivalences. Massive is then only way to describe the beautiful result.

We are informed that no critical text has yet been published from the many Syriac manuscripts of Saint Isaac's *Ascetical Homilies* that exist. The present translation makes reference to the Syriac text but is not based upon it. There has come down an Eastern and a Western textual tradition. The Eastern tradition has many passages and eight homilies that are not considered in the Western tradition, and the Western tradition has a few passages not found in the Eastern. There are other small differences. The order of the homilies is about the same in both manuscript traditions. The order of the *Homilies* is the order found in the Syriac texts and the homilies do not have any necessary relation to each other. They can be graceful, terse, apophthegmatic, and smooth but they can also be extremely dense and obscure. Although there is an English translation of Bedjan's Syriac text published by A. J. Wensinck in 1923, it is not easy to read, it is quite literal, and sometimes even incomprehensible, and does contain significant mistakes in translation. The Holy Transfiguration Monastery translators have used the Greek text closest to the Syriac as the basis for their translation. They have regularly used footnotes to indicate important differences and have specifically checked the Greek text against the Western Syriac text (as represented in the tenth century Sinai MS, Syr. 24 and the fourteenth century Vatican MS. Syr. 124). They have included all passages and homilies that exist in both Western and Eastern Syriac traditions, also adding passages not found in the Western tradition but found in the Syriac printed text. The Greek MSS used are Paris 693 (9th century); Paris 370 (10th century); Mar Sabbas 157 (10th century); Lavra 335 (late 10th century); Koutloumousiou 12 (11th century); Sinai 405 (11th or 12th century) Mar Sabbas 407 (12th or 13th century); Vatican 605 (dated 1326); Hagios Stavros 79 (14th century); Sinai 406 (14th century); Sinai 408 (dated 1371); and Sinai 409 (dated 1374). Seventy-seven homilies

appear in the excellent Holy Transfiguration Monastery translation.

The Ascetical Homilies of Saint Isaac the Syrian can be used in a number of different ways. Obviously, monastics and churchmen could make extensive use of the whole book throughout their entire lives. Laypersons could use the book selectively, pondering particular homilies or concentrating on selections. Scholars wishing to learn about the role of the Church of Persia who are not familiar with Syriac or other needed languages will find here a very rich source for enhancing their theological and historical knowledge.

Saint Isaac, of course, offers guidance for the believer who wishes to know God: "If you do not know God, the love of Him cannot be stirred within you; and you cannot love God if you do not see Him; the sight of God comes by knowing Him; for the divine vision of Him does not precede the knowledge of Him" (Homily Thirty-six, p. 161). In Homily Forty-Seven we are told that "natural knowledge, which is the discernment of good and evil implanted in our nature by God, persuades us that we must believe in God, the Author of all" but that "spiritual knowledge is not, however, thus simply begotten of mere faith alone; but faith begets the fear of God, and when we begin to act from the fear of God, then, out of the steady action of the fear of God, spiritual knowledge is born" (p. 227). He goes on to say that "spiritual knowledge is the perception of what is hidden. And when a man perceives these invisible and by far more excellent things (from which it takes the name spiritual knowledge), then there is begotten by the perception proper to this knowledge another faith, not one which is opposed to the first faith, but one which confirms it. And this is called 'the faith of divine vision'" (ibid.).

Humility, chastity, and love prepare the soul for the Holy trinity. Saint Isaac points out that "The blossoms of spiritual knowledge is divine love . . . Love is a fruit of prayer that, by prayer's divine vision, draws the intellect insatiably toward that which it longs for when the intellect patiently perseveres in prayer without wearying. . . The love of God . . . is found in the soul's self-renunciation" (Homily Sixty-six, p. 325). We are informed that there are three degrees of knowledge (natural, supranatural, and contranatural) that the soul goes through as man distinguishes between good and evil as "the intellect ascends or descends in good or in evil or in things midway between the two" (Homily Fifty-two, p. 261).

The Ascetical Homilies of Saint Isaac the Syrian has been available

for a number of years now and deserves to be widely known because it is a very rich source for the study and contemplation of Eastern Christian spirituality, and, incidentally, a substantial resource for the appreciation of the contribution of the Church of Persia to that spirituality.

John E. Rexine
Colgate University

Paul and the Torah. By Lloyd Gaston. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987. Pp. 262, cloth.

The present work is a first-rate scholarly study of an important religious issue — that of Jewish-Christian relations as focused in the life and works of the Apostle Paul. The author makes clear that this is not an apologetic work but rather an attempt to look at this issue in a new perspective that points towards asking questions in a new way. Gaston states that “very central is the recognition that Judaism is a living reality and that the covenant between God and Israel continues” (p.2). On the basis of this statement the author proposes new a exegesis that aids in understanding the sacred texts better once the anti-Jewish blinders are removed.

The author proposes that the key to the sacred texts is in understanding whom Paul is addressing. Gaston argues in a forceful and methodical way that Saint Paul was addressing Gentile Christians and not the Jewish Christians. The author proposes to use “experimental exegesis” to open up new understanding of the texts in relation to the promise of Abraham as hope for the nations and the covenant of Sinai as a unique relation YHWH with Israel. Gaston takes the position that Saint Paul’s self-understanding was that he was chosen to be an apostle to the Gentiles. That is the reason Paul emphasizes the promise God made to Abraham concerning the inclusion of Gentiles as the elect and righteous people of God. The Gentiles receive the promise and hope of salvation and that becomes a reality through Christ. This does not mean displacement or rejection by God of the people. Gaston very effectively argues that St. Paul does not speak anywhere in his writings of the rejection of Israel as YHWH’s chosen people.

The Epistle to the Romans is interpreted by Gaston to include

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The Authority of the Ecumenical Patriarch in the Life of the Orthodox Church

VASIL T. ISTAVRIDIS

THE TITLE OF MY PAPER "THE AUTHORITY OF THE ECUMENICAL Patriarch in the Life of the Orthodox Church," includes in itself two spheres: the wider and the narrower. The wider sphere is Orthodoxy, consisting of all the local Orthodox Churches. The Orthodox faithful accept their Church as being the one, holy, catholic, and apostolic Church of the Symbol of Faith. Orthodoxy bases her claims upon the existing continuity of the same faith and life through time, and this is called Orthodox Tradition.

The Orthodox Church is also known as Greek, Eastern Orthodox (Orthodox Eastern), Orthodox Catholic (Catholic Orthodox) in comparison with the Latin, Western, Roman Catholic Church. The Orthodox Church, according to the diptychs of the Great Church of Christ, consists of the patriarchates of Constantinople (Ecumenical), Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, Moscow, Belgrade, Bucarest, and Sophia; and the Autocephalous Churches of Cyprus, Greece, Poland, and Albania. The faithful all over the world number between 200-250 million persons.

The narrower sphere includes the Ecumenical Patriarchate, with the patriarch at the head. The Christian community or the Church in Constantinople has been known by various names: the Church and bishopric of Byzantium; the Church, bishopric, archbishopric and Patriarch of Constantinople or New Rome, the Great Church of Christ,

*A paper read at the Eighth Catholic Colloquium, Bari, Italy, May 25-27, 1989.

the Ecumenical Patriarchate, and the Church of the Phanar.

By the term "Ecumenical Patriarchate" we mean today, first of all, the archbishopric of Constantinople, that is to say, a particular ecclesiastical territory which includes the parishes of Constantinople, Galata, and Katastenon and whose presiding bishop is the archbishop of Constantinople, who worships at Saint George's Church and the center of whose see is the Phanar.

In the framework of the patriarchal system of church government found in Orthodoxy, this archbishop is called both Patriarch of Constantinople and Ecumenical Patriarch. This is because he has direct spiritual and administrative jurisdiction over all the ecclesiastical territories within the wider geographical boundaries of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. He is first among equals (*primus inter pares*), that is, first among all the hierarchs of the Throne.

In addition, the Ecumenical Patriarch has the honor of precedence over the sister Orthodox Churches, i.e., he is first among the other Orthodox patriarchs and leaders of the autocephalous Orthodox Churches. In practice, this implies certain rights and duties, attributed to him by the Ecumenical Synods and met with in the long life and tradition of the Church.

By way of introduction, it is also important to know the relations existing between the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the state throughout the centuries. In the Byzantine era (300-1453) there was a cooperation between church and state for a common cause, the Church working for the establishment of the kingdom of God and the state for the well-being of its members. The principle of inter-relatedness — but not interference in the inner life and responsibilities of the other was particularly applied.

During the Ottoman period (1453-1923) the patriarch had new relations within a new state, of which the official religion was Islam. The Ottoman state accepted the Greek Church as a separate and autonomous religious and ethnic entity (the Greek nation, *Rum millet*) and the patriarch as the spiritual and ethnic leader (ethnarch, *millet baski*). In this way, the patriarch assumed additional rights related to family, social customs, and education of the members of his Church. The Ecumenical Patriarchate had at the same time members living in Roman Catholic and Orthodox states. In the latter the Byzantine ideal of church-state relations was in practice, while in the Roman Catholic states the Orthodox had to face some difficulties from time to time.

With the establishment of the Turkish Republic (1923), previous rights accorded by the Ottoman administration ceased to exist. In it, the Ecumenical Patriarchate continued to function as an exclusively religious and spiritual institution. Within the Turkish state the Patriarchate has the status of a free church within a secular, religiously indifferent state, the Muslim members of which being in the absolute majority.

On the other hand, the dioceses of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in the continents of Europe, Asia, Australia, and the Americas retained the status of mostly free churches within secular states in which, with some exemptions, the majority of their members happened to be Christians. In countries where the state religions were Roman Catholicism, Anglicanism, or Lutheranism, its dioceses had the same status. In Greece and Finland, their status is that of a state Church.

In the first part of the title we come across the Greek word “αὐθεντία,” “authority,” in order to show an attribute, a special position, or a particularity possessed by the Ecumenical Patriarchate in the life of the Orthodox Church. The Greek term “αὐθεντία” derives its root from the word “αὐθέντης” (αὐτός, the ruler, ἐντης, one who does anything with his own hands, the free, authoritative, doer with his own hands) and implies ownership, freedom of will, authority, and dominance. In view of the meaning of the word “αὐθεντία” (authority) I would suggest an alternative term, “position,” with the title reading: *The Position of the Ecumenical Patriarch in the Life of the Orthodox Church.*

At the birth of Christianity, church order adapted itself to the political division and administrative organization of the Roman Empire. In the New Testament each local church was referred to by the name of the particular city in which it was located: the Church of Jerusalem, of Antioch, of Ephesos, of Corinth. The head of each church was the bishop. With the passing of time, and with the numerical growth of the Christian faithful, parishes and communities appeared within the cities, as did churches and their bishops (choroepiskopoi) in the rural areas.

Since besides the cities the Roman Empire was organized into provinces, the bishops of each province would come together in the provincial capital, under the chairmanship of the metropolitan, that is the bishop residing there. The provincial council dealt with the elections, the ordinations, and the judgments of the bishops, with the study of ecclesiastical needs and matters related to faith and piety,

and with the solution of contradictions, and the correction of matters under discussion.

The diocese, another geographic unit within the Roman Empire, was broader than the province. Church order adapted itself to this larger political division. Thus, in the fourth century we come across another episcopal title, that of the exarch, who was called archbishop in the broader sense. The exarch was entitled to an authority over an extended ecclesiastical area broader than that of a metropolitan and had some privileges over the metropolitans and the bishops. The exarchs were the holders of the sees of Alexandria, Antioch, Caesarea, Ephesos, and Herakleia in the East. The synods of the last three dioceses in the East, existing at least in theory although possibly not in practice, evolved into the patriarchal synods of Constantinople.

In the course of the fifth to the sixth centuries there was another development in the hierarchical status. Some of the exarchs, namely those of Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, and Jerusalem eventually adopted the title of patriarch. Within the boundaries of their ecclesiastical sees they possessed honorary prerogatives over the metropolitans and the bishops. In the whole West there exists only one patriarch, the Pope of Rome. Beginning with John II (518-520) the Patriarch of Constantinople is known as the Ecumenical Patriarch. As from the thirteenth century his title is "Name, by the grace of God Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome, and Ecumenical Patriarch."

In the beginning, the rights of the patriarchs were based upon the law of custom, gradually developing, and were later confirmed by the Ecumenical Synods. The patriarch had, as did the metropolitan and exarch on a smaller scale, privileges of a personal nature. He was the authority who confirmed elections of metropolitans and generally had the right of supervision over the dogmatic and canonical affairs within his patriarchate.

Beginning with the emperor Justinian the Great (527-565) the relations of the five patriarchal sees were expressed on the basis of a new theory, the pentarchy of the Church. According to this theory, the dogmatic and other religious problems of the Church had to be solved by the common consent of the five patriarchs. This was fully applied during the iconoclastic controversy and later in conflict of Photios and Ignatios and their relations to Rome, as well as after the eleventh century. The significance attached to a see was usually related to its apostolic origins. Church *praxis*, as well as the canons

of the Ecumenical Councils, regulated the honorary prerogatives and the order of precedence of the five patriarchs of the Church.

There exists a tradition according to which Saint Andrew, the brother of Peter, came to Byzantium, and established the first Christian church and administration during his journey to Scythia. The Church of Byzantium, as it has already been mentioned, appears in history first as a bishopric of the diocese of Herakleia, Thrace, even in the time of and after the foundation of New Rome (A. D. 330). It developed into a great ecclesiastical center through the years 330-451 because of its outstanding importance as the capital of the empire. Here the principle of adaptation to the political division and administrative organization of the empire was applied, while later, the other principle of apostolic origin was also taken into consideration. The fact that Constantinople became the seat of the Eastern Roman Empire in 330 makes us think that its bishop could not remain a mere titular under the metropolitan of Herakleia. It seems probable that its bishop was put in the same line with the exarchs, although he did not yet have a special ecclesiastical area of his own. In the meantime, we have two canons at our disposal, six and seven of the First Ecumenical Synod of Nikaia (325), which deal with the prerogatives and the precedence of honor of the first churches.

The old order shall continue to prevail in Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis; namely that the Bishop of Alexandria shall exercise supreme power over all these places, as is also the case with the Bishop of Rome who has the same powers. In a similar way shall their rights be preserved with regard to the Church of Antioch and to the Churches in other eparchies. (Canon six)

This canon comes as a confirmation of a previously existing situation. It speaks of the prerogatives of the first churches, namely of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, and of other eparchies without naming them. The Church of Rome is considered to be a basis (measure) of comparison.

Because it is an established custom and an old tradition that the Bishop of Aelia should be treated with special honor, he shall thus enjoy precedence of honor, but in such a way that the metropolis shall preserve the dignity which is its right. (Canon seven)

The bishop of Aelia (Jerusalem) was under the metropolitan of

Caesarea, Palestine. Due to the special honor accorded to the Holy City, at Nikaia the fathers bestowed on him the honorary status of only the metropolitan.

We now come to the Second Ecumenical Synod of Constantinople in 381. That council issued two canons concerning the prerogatives of the first churches. Canon two of this synod begins with an admonition to the bishops not to interfere with the affairs of other dioceses and then reads as follows:

... according to the canons, the bishop of Alexandria should limit himself to the administration of Egypt, the bishops of the Orient should administer only the Orient, provided that the rights of the Church of Antioch described in the canons of Nikaia be respected, the bishops of the dioceses of Asia, Pontos, and Thrace, respectively, should administer the affairs of only those dioceses. . . . (Canon two)

This canon was in conformity to the political division of the Eastern Roman Empire, and definitely restricted the activities and movements of the bishops of Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesos, Caesarea, and Herakleia. It confirmed the validity of canon six of the First Ecumenical Synod of Nikaia with respect to the bishops of Alexandria and Antioch as exarchs and named this time the dioceses of Asia, Pontos, and Thrace. Canon three of the same council stated the prerogatives of the see of Constantinople, with a local designation of its rights. "The Bishop of Constantinople should have the primacy of honor next after the Bishop of Rome, since his city is the New Rome." (Canon three) In the period of fifty years, since A. D. 330, the Bishop of Constantinople became, after a gradual development, the second hierarchy in precedence within the Catholic Church, and first in the East.

Canon three of the Synod of Constantinople in 381 should not by any means be considered as diminishing the primacy of Rome. On the contrary, this primacy is clearly given as a basis for comparison, as the same thing had already happened in the First Council of Nikaia, canon six, for Alexandria. The political importance of the city was used as a starting point. This canon was rather a decision related to the see of Alexandria, which thereby moved to the third position in ecclesiastical precedence. The Bishop of Alexandria Timothy signed it, and the rest of the hierarchs from the East did the same. Rome, a close friend of Alexandria, could not interfere. It can be concluded

that the West tacitly, though reluctantly, accepted the third canon, which was voted in Constantinople (381).

Two Orthodox theologians express themselves emphatically concerning the significance of the above canon. The Metropolitan of Myra Chrysostom Constantinides says:

Firstly, I would like to ask permission to state that a greater importance should be attached to the text and the contents of this third canon, rather than to the text and the content of another parallel, that is the twenty-eighth canon of the Fourth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon, in the year 451.

As it is known, the twenty-eighth canon of the Council of Chalcedon, bearing a great significance in the history of church law in general, as well as for the composition and foundation of the juridical rights of the Church of Constantinople, has both in the past and the present been the object of various considerations and interpretations, often hasty and usually conflicting in character.

These evaluations and explanations often times appear to be deprived of truth. They raise greater difficulties among the Churches in the generally thorny field of mutual relations not only in the West and more specifically between Constantinople and Rome, but also among the local churches of the Orthodox world in their relations to the Church of Constantinople as well.

This partly holds true only in relation to some special cases, whenever it is proper to acknowledge to the Church of Constantinople a privilege in jurisdiction or one mission responsibility, derived from the twenty-eighth canon of Chalcedon. This is a canon which has suffered in the hands of scholars, which still causes much serious trouble to the Orthodox ecclesiastical and canonical order and tradition today.

Thus, unreservedly I say that if there exists a document, which needs to be correctly interpreted and objectively evaluated, and which all by itself can be accepted as giving the most basic element for the comprehension and definition of the "privileged," "pioneering" and "primatial" — if it is permitted to use this term — position of the Church of Constantinople within the totality of the local Orthodox Churches, this text is not exclusively and one-sidedly taken from the twenty-eighth canon of the Council of Chalcedon, but the text of the third canon of the Second Ecumenical Council of Constantinople.¹

¹ Chrysostomos Constantinides (Metropolitan of Myra), "Πρωτεύων, προεβεία

According to Emmanuel Photiades: "It has been duly stated that the Church of Constantinople — the Ecumenical Patriarchate — owes her unique position within the Church and her privileges not so much to the famous twenty-eighth canon of the Fourth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon, but mostly to the third canon of the Second Ecumenical Council, which constitutes the first main, official, and ecumenical event."²

Following the Synod of Constantinople, the honorary prerogatives ascribed to the bishop of Byzantium did not remain plain words, but ran parallel to the natural evolution of its jurisdictional authority, without any bias, but in a natural and canonical way, thus satisfying the needs of the times. To illustrate this we may observe the activities (and efforts) of the bishops of Constantinople who started to intervene with the affairs of the neighbouring dioceses, that is of Thrace (Herakleia), Asia (Ephesos), and Pontos (Caesarea).

If we now turn to church diplomacy on a higher level we become aware of the efforts made by those both in the sees of Alexandria and Antioch to promote to the first see in the Orient persons in connection with them. All this constitutes the background for the final development of the Church of Constantinople which was sanctioned by the Synod of Chalcedon (451). Canons nine and seventeen grant the Eastern bishops the right of appeal to the exarch of the diocese or the Bishop of Constantinople against the judgment of the metropolitans. Canon twenty-eight of the same council is the most important document defining the prerogatives of the Church of Constantinople. This famous and controversial canon reads as follows:

Following in all things the decisions of the Holy Father and taking cognizance of the canon of the 150 bishops beloved by God, who assembled in the imperial City of Constantinople, under the former emperor, the great Theodosios of blessed memory, we decide and determine the same concerning the rights of honor of the holy Church

τιμής, καὶ εὐθύνῃ διακονίας εἰς τὸ σύστημα καὶ τὴν ζωὴν τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας," *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρίδα τῆς Θεολογικῆς Ἐχολῆς τοῦ Ἀριστοτελείου Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης*, 26 (Thessalonike, 1981), pp. 14-15.

² Emmanuel Photiades, *Ὁ γ. κανὼν τῆς ἁγίας Β. Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου καὶ ἡ κατ' αὐτοῦ ἀντίδρασις τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν Ρώμης καὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας, Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου*, ἐκδ. *Μνήμη Συνόδου ἁγίας Β. Οἰκουμενικῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει* 381. Volume 1 (Thessalonike, 1983), p. 438.

of the same Constantinople, the New Rome. For the Fathers acknowledged the rights of honor of the throne of Old Rome, because it was the Imperial City, and moved by the same motives, the 150 bishops beloved of God have attributed the same rights of honor to the most holy throne of the New Rome in that they rightly judged that the city, which is honored by the presence of the emperor and one senate and enjoys the same rights of honor as the Imperial City, the Old Rome, should also be honored in ecclesiastical affairs and should therefore occupy the second place after the Old Rome.

Consequently the metropolitans of the dioceses of Pontos, Asia, and Thrace, and only they, and furthermore the bishop of the above-mentioned dioceses, whose sees are in the lands of the barbarians, shall be consecrated by the above-mentioned most holy throne of the most holy Church of Constantinople; while naturally each metropolitan of the above-mentioned dioceses, together with the bishops of his province, consecrates the bishops of the province, as has been laid down in the holy canon. The metropolitans of the above-mentioned dioceses shall, however, as stated, be consecrated by the archbishop of Constantinople, after a harmonious election has been arranged according to usage and has been passed on to him.

In general, this canon was not introducing a new status within the Christian Church. It was rather giving an official canonical blessing to an order of things already in existence, after the Second Ecumenical Synod of Constantinople (381). While canon three of Constantinople, 381, spoke of honorary privileges without limits, here the jurisdiction of the throne of New Rome comes in. The Archbishop of Constantinople will have the right to ordain "only" the metropolitans of Pontos, Asia, and Thrace, and the bishops in the lands held by the barbarians, which means that this archbishop will have direct authority over these regions. The use of the expression "only" brings us back to the wording of the Synod of Constantinople, where the jurisdiction of the bishops of Alexandria and Antioch, and of Asia, Pontos, and Thrace is presented and limited. In this way, the Ecumenical Throne is the only throne which possesses the canonical right to extend its ecclesiastical jurisdiction abroad and over the jurisdictions.

Four distinct conclusions may be drawn from the aforesaid canon twenty-eight of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod of Chalcedon (451): (1) primacy of honor of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, equal to that of Rome; (2) submission (ordination) of the exarchs of Caesarea, Ephesos,

and Herakleia to the Patriarch of Constantinople; (3) ordination of the bishops in the lands of the barbarians, that is, any land beyond the boundaries of a fixed ecclesiastical diocese, coming under the jurisdiction of the "protothronos" Church of Constantinople; (4) the acceptance by the Church of Constantinople of appeals made by clergy of her jurisdiction or belonging to other churches.

In the course of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod of Chalcedon (451), another ecclesiastical see received its final shape. After long disputes between the bishops of Jerusalem and the metropolitans of Caesarea, Palestine, on one side, and the exarchs of Antioch on the other, Juvenal of Jerusalem succeeded in obtaining in Chalcedon an independent status for his church. The three Palestinian provinces taken from the Church of Antioch were given to Jerusalem.

The Church of Rome, if we take into consideration the pronouncements made by Pope Leo and other popes, did not accept the validity of the twenty-eighth canon of Chalcedon. But whenever there was an occasion for church contacts between Old and New Rome, the Roman Church had to reckon with the presence of the Patriarch of Constantinople, a partner standing high in the line of precedence of church dignitaries. From the records of the Roman "ecumenical" councils of 869-870 in Constantinople, of the Lateran Council in 1215, and of the Council of Florence in 1439, we see the Roman Church accepting the Ecumenical Patriarch second in rank after the Pope of Rome and before the Patriarch of Alexandria. So, in a way, it seems we may say that the Roman Church accepted the prerogatives of the patriarch of Constantinople within the Christian Church.

In the East, canon twenty-eight of the Synod of Chalcedon regulated relations between the patriarch of Constantinople and the other Orthodox patriarchs. This canon has been once more ratified by canon thirty-six of the Synod in Trullo (692).

The history of the three Orthodox patriarchates after the Synod of Chalcedon is filled with internal discussions and dissent on the one side, and the fall of all three of them and their territories under Arabic rule in the seventh century. In Alexandria those who opposed Chalcedon founded the Coptic Monophysite Church, while a small remnant of Orthodox were called Melchites. In Antioch there was the secession of Nestorians, Monophysites, and later Maronites, while the Patriarch of Jerusalem remained totally Orthodox. As in Alexandria, in the whole Middle East Orthodox were being called Melchites. After the Arabic domination in the Middle East, the churches in this region

had to go through difficult days. The patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem were elected and remained, more or less, in Constantinople. During the same period, the Ecumenical Patriarchate displayed to those inflicted churches a brotherly interest, care, and concern, helping them to maintain their existence.

Ecclesiastical communion between the churches of the two Romes had on several occasions been severed in the years before the ninth century. The first realization of the Great Schism between the two churches occurred in the ninth century with Pope Nicholas I and Patriarch Photios I. 1054 is accepted as the year in which the Great Schism between the churches of Rome and Constantinople happened. Since then, that is from the eleventh century on, the Ecumenical Patriarch holds a primacy of honor in the East, among the Orthodox Churches, being honored as *primus inter pares*.

Having studied briefly the position of the Ecumenical Patriarchate within the Christian Church throughout the Byzantine period, we can now make some brief observations about certain aspects of this patriarchate.

Constantinople, the capital of the empire. The Ecumenical Patriarchate was strengthened by being located in the capital of the empire and by the presence of the emperor, who always played an important role in church-state relations within the Eastern Church. Although each of the other three patriarchs in the East had his *apokrisarios* before the emperor, on many occasions their affairs were presented to him through the Ecumenical Patriarch as an intermediary.

The primacy of honor. The primacy of the Ecumenical Patriarch in the precedence among the other patriarchs in the East, as it evolves from the life of the Church and the canons of the Ecumenical Councils, is a primacy of honor. His privileges, though, did not remain mere words, but were directly connected with some rights and duties accorded by the Ecumenical Patriarch by the other Orthodox patriarchs.

Ecumenical and local synods. The calling of all seven ecumenical synods, which are accepted as such by the one undivided Church and which constitute the highest authority of the Church, within the jurisdictional area of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the occasional presidency in them by the ecumenical patriarchs, and the presence of the greatest number of bishops from this church constitute positive elements for these prerogatives. Similar importance was attributed to the other forms of the synodical form convened in Constantinople,

the great or local synods, and especially the permanent (*endemousa*) synod which had a permanent character. This synod is organically connected with the development of the Byzantine Patriarchate and vice-versa. By its existence this patriarchate has acquired a distinctive character of its own not to be found in the organization of the other Orthodox patriarchates, a fact which was to differentiate this patriarchate from the others. The Ecumenical Patriarch was the convener and the president of the last two forms of the synodical regime.

The patriarchate as a center of unity. Because of the above-mentioned and other factors, the Church of Constantinople gained the honor of being the center for the unity of the Church, for the expression of faith and church law, and for its missionary activities. It possessed a moral authority.

Diakonia. The Church of Constantinople offers service to other needy churches in the East. This service was characterised by a spirit of care and concern towards the other churches. The Ecumenical Patriarchate, after receiving a call, offered its good services, but on other occasions, because of its primacy of honor, took the initiative to intervene for the well-being of sister Orthodox Churches.

The Diaspora. The right of the Ecumenical Patriarchate over the Churches of the Diaspora is based on the twenty-eighth canon of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod of Chalcedon (451) and on the continuing life of the Church.

The right of appeal. The right of appeal of bishops and clergy to the Patriarch of Constantinople against the encroachments of the metropolitans, found within the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, was a right of the patriarch. From judiciary practice though, it is possible to single out some cases of this appeal to the Ecumenical Patriarch made willingly by some clergy living outside the ecclesiastical boundaries of the patriarchate of Constantinople in the East.

Stauropegion. The Ecumenical Patriarch had the right of taking under his direct authority monasteries founded in the bishoprics within his own ecclesiastical territory. It is not easy to ascertain, however, whether the Ecumenical Patriarchate actually had such monasteries within the territories of other patriarchal thrones as well during the Byzantine period.

During the days of the Ottoman rule and the later Turkish Republic, the Ecumenical Patriarchate, continued to function as previously, with its rights and duties based upon its honorary prerogatives. The Ecumenical Patriarch filled with his presence some

gaps caused by the disappearance of the Byzantine emperor and the fall of the Eastern Roman Empire. The Ecumenical Patriarch cared for and in some instances intervened up to the nineteenth century in external or internal matters related to the other Orthodox Churches. The other patriarchs came into contact with the state through the Ecumenical Patriarch. The Patriarchate of Constantinople supported the sister Orthodox Churches in their defense against proselytism and other expansive tendencies coming from the West. This Patriarchate occasionally dealt with matters concerning elections, resignations, and dismissals of the patriarchs, matters concerning hierarchs of other churches, and those related to canon law and the faith of the Church in general. This should not be regarded as a tendency of the Ecumenical Patriarch to practice a *de facto* primacy over the Orthodox world, but an outcome of his duty to assist the other Orthodox Churches in their difficult moments.

On the other hand, the patriarchs, hierarchs, and some members of the clergy or monks belonging to other churches who resided in Constantinople participated at various times in the work of the endemousa and other synods of the Patriarchate, and in this way took an active part in the internal affairs of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

In general, the Ecumenical Patriarch has the right of initiative in matters affecting the relations of Orthodox with other Christians and in matters of Pan-Orthodox character, a right attributed to him by the heads of all Orthodox Churches. In particular he has the following rights and duties:

- (1) To consider appeals submitted to him by all clergy under him or by all other Orthodox Churches; (2) to initiate correspondence on one or more important problems of inter-Orthodox, inter-Christian, or secular nature; (3) to convoke wider or pan-Orthodox synods, to determine their time and place and to preside over such synods; (4) to confer, with the consent of the other Orthodox Churches autonomy, autocephaly, and patriarchal status to churches formerly under him which have the canonical presuppositions; (5) to settle matters of outstanding importance concerning one or more Orthodox Churches in the domains of faith, moral life, ecclesiastical law, church order, etc., either directly from the Phanar or by sending patriarchal exarchs; (6) to appoint on a permanent basis some hierarchs of the Ecumenical Throne in the lands outside of Turkey as exarchs of the Ecumenical Patriarchate; (7) to bless the holy myron and distribute it to sister Orthodox Churches, as a token of the

spiritual bonds existing between the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the other Orthodox Churches; (8) to recognize saints who have lived not only within the boundaries of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, but outside of it as well, after the proper petition of the Churches concerned; (9) to have precedence in concelebrations with other Orthodox prelates during worship services; (10) to put under his direct jurisdiction, or to establish certain monasteries as patriarchal stauropegia within his archdiocese, and the dioceses, archdioceses, and metropolises of his Church and in certain cases also within the limits of other Orthodox Churches as an outcome of their joint decision; (11) to be a point of contact with the outside world. (Here one can single out some events or expressions taking place in our own days. One of them is the constant turn of the chief hierarchs of other Christian Churches, of the leaders of various Christian institutions, and of international foundations towards the Ecumenical Patriarchate on matters concerning the whole of Orthodoxy and the Christian world.); (12) to receive visitors, such as the newly elected leaders of the Orthodox and other Christian churches, as well as the directors or general secretaries of various Christian institutions, who usually start their official visits towards the outside world by first coming to the Ecumenical Patriarchate; (13) to accept on behalf of the entire Church invitations of other Christian churches, Christian institutions, and international foundations; (14) to receive holy relics when in some cases the Roman Catholic Church returns them from the West to the Eastern Churches through the Ecumenical Patriarchate; (15) to maintain an important spiritual connection with Mount Athos, which has the character of an ecclesiastical embassy of the Church of Constantinople for the other Orthodox Churches; (16) to maintain a special relationship with the Orthodox Diaspora.

An outcome of a movement of numerous Orthodox faithful during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries towards different parts of the world, the Orthodox Diaspora presents a new phenomenon and a new reality within the Orthodox Church body. During the different phases of its development this phenomenon had three solutions: (1) according to the twenty-eighth canon of the Fourth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon (451), all Orthodox living outside the boundaries of the local Orthodox Churches were organized under the supervision of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, which is an ecumenical and supra-national center including Orthodox members from many nationalities; (2) the organization of different Orthodox jurisdictions under the supervision of their mother churches; (3) the appearance of native

Orthodox Churches.

In the beginning of the twentieth century the Ecumenical Patriarchate issued two important documents. The first during the patriarchate of Joacheim III, in 1908, by which the Ecumenical Patriarchate left the right of protection over the Greek Orthodox in the Diaspora to the Church of Greece; this was an outcome of the historical circumstances of the times. The second in the time of Patriarch Meletios IV Metaxakis in 1922, by which the former decision was revoked and the canonical authority of the Ecumenical Patriarchate over the Churches of the Diaspora was once more acknowledged. This was an act of clear-sightedness on the part of the Patriarchate. The formation of inter-Orthodox local councils or conferences in the lands of the Diaspora, as seen in the U. S. A. (1943, 1960), France (1967), and Australia (1980), by which decisions of a pan-Orthodox character were made and put into practice locally, constitute hopeful beginnings and a positive step towards the solution of the problem of the Diaspora. Historically, the Orthodox Diaspora could be seen as a new, peculiar, and complex phenomenon. It is connected with some particular events, which Orthodoxy was not disposed to create, and forms a reality that this Church was not ready to meet. Consequently, it continues to be a temporary, and extraordinary case of an irregular nature.

Through the course of time within the system of ecclesiastical order, Orthodoxy presents the need for the existence of a coordinating or reference center, or of a form of a modern pan-Orthodox presidency. Basing their decisions on the long praxis, the life and conscience of the Church, and the canons of the Ecumenical Councils, the Orthodox Churches recognize the Ecumenical Patriarchate as a center of unity, reference, and coordination.

The Church of Constantinople possesses a particular geographic territory, with her members and her dioceses found almost all over the world, thus barring an ecumenical character. She fulfills her tasks through the patriarch, the holy synod, the hierarchs, the exarchs, the theological school of Halki and the other theological schools, the different centers and institutes, the theologians, and monastic centers all over the world.

Beside the external acknowledgement of the primacy of honor to this Church, the need for the existence of an internal, dynamic, moral, spiritual and ecclesiastical authority is also essential. The Ecumenical Patriarchate is a centuries-long institution marked by its continuity, prudence, and importance. Due to the context in which

it functions, it remains a supra-national institution.

At this point we should stress the great importance for the maintenance of Pan-Orthodox unity between the Ecumenical Patriarchate and all the sister Orthodox Churches. Besides the above-mentioned ways and means, the Ecumenical Patriarchate uses personal contacts, correspondence, and the machinery for the preparation of the Holy and Great Synod. The preservation of pan-Orthodox unity is also attained by the continuous work of communication. The Ecumenical Patriarchate informs the sister Orthodox Churches on initiatives taken by the Church of Constantinople. The patriarch shows keen openness to responses, positive or negative, coming from the Orthodox Churches to those initiatives. Moreover, within the limits of ecclesiastical law, due respect is paid to the freedom of each local Orthodox Church. In addition, due care is shown by all local Orthodox Churches to avoid, if possible, one-sided decisions relative to pan-Orthodox unity.

The differentiation of Orthodoxy within herself in matters affecting not her essence or faith, but of external and ecclesiastical order, occasionally comes up among the sister Orthodox Churches. Such matters, among others, have been the Diaspora, the diptycs, the church calendar, the way by which the sacraments of other Churches are accepted, the participation of the local Orthodox Churches in the bilateral theological dialogues and the ecumenical movement, and their participation in various celebrations.

Good-will on the part of all, the many efforts spent, the spirit of cooperation, the meaning and the conscience of pan-Orthodox unity, and the passing of time all contribute to the amelioration of the sharp points and the eventual solution of the problems. Church primacies, the whole of Orthodoxy, the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the other Orthodox Churches, and Pan-Orthodox unity all exist to serve one purpose: the glory of the Triune God — the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit — and the salvation of man.

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The Boundaries of the Church: An Orthodox Debate

EMMANUEL CLAPSIS

JESUS PRAYED THAT ALL HIS DISCIPLES MAY BE ONE AS HE AND HIS Father are one (Jn 17.21). He wished them to be one flock under one shepherd (Jn 17.21), guided into all the truth by the Holy Spirit (Jn 16.13). Through their participation in the life of Jesus, the Christians have been reconciled to God and have become one in Christ (Eph 2.13-18). This unity is so intense that there is in them neither Jew nor Greek, neither slave nor freeman, neither male nor female (Gal 3.28). For Saint Paul, the followers of Christ, constituting his body, cannot be divided since it is impossible for Christ to be divided (cf. 1 Cor 1.13). Faithful to the biblical and patristic tradition, Orthodoxy strongly believes that there can only be one Church of God since we only know one Lord, one faith, and one baptism (Eph 4.5).

While the unity of the Church leaves room for diversity among local churches, it excludes a plurality of rival churches and conflicting denominations that reject one another's doctrine, ministries and sacraments.¹ Yet Christendom is divided and this calls for theological explanation. What, then, is the ecclesial reality of those Christian communions and churches that are not in communion with

¹ James D. G. Dunn, *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament: An Inquiry into the Character of Earliest Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1969); Raymond Brown, "The Unity and Diversity in the New Testament Ecclesiology," *New Testament Essays* (New York, 1968), pp. 60-73; Ernest Kasemann, "Unity and Multiplicity in the New Testament Doctrine of the Church," *New Testament Questions of Today* (Philadelphia, 1969), pp. 253-59; Nikos Matsoukas, *Ὁρθοδοξία καὶ αἵρεση κατὰ τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικούς ἱστορικούς τοῦ τετάρτου, πέμπτου καὶ ἑκτου αἰῶνα* (Thessalonike, 1981).

each other and the Orthodox Church? If the Orthodox Church is the manifestation and the embodiment of the one, holy, catholic, and apostolic Church, how do the Orthodox appreciate the ecclesial nature of the other Christian churches which also claim to be the embodiment of the same reality? This question becomes urgent as a result of Orthodox ecumenical involvement and the daily encounter of the Orthodox faithful with people of other Christian churches and denominations.

In the ecumenical theology of the last hundred years, there have been serious attempts to explain both the professed unity of the Church of Christ and the actual division amongst those communities that lay claim to the Christian name. Avery Dulles has discerned in his articles on "The Church, the Churches and the Catholic Church" five types of suggested solutions to this ecumenical problem.² The first approach holds that the Church exists wherever the essentials of the apostolic tradition in matters of doctrine, sacraments and ministry can be found. This implies that the One Church is identical with one concrete historical community and that all other "churches" are counterfeits or pseudo-churches. For irenic purposes, it is also suggested that although the church of Christ exists fully or perfectly in one communion alone, it may be found imperfectly or by participation in others, inasmuch as they, too, possess certain gifts or endowments that belong by right to the one true Church. A second attempt to resolve this problem distinguishes between an invisible, noumenal, or spiritual sphere in which unity is to be found, and a visible, phenomenal, or empirical sphere in which we experience divisions. This view implies that all Christians are one in Jesus Christ in that they belong to a single pneumatic koinonia, as opposed to the institutional church which is an external expression of the Church that is within the hearts of the believers. A third approach suggests that the true Church is not simply identical with any existing denomination, but that it comes into existence, momentarily and transiently, when the Holy Spirit actively transforms the local gathered community through word and sacrament. If this view is to be accepted then the Church becomes a series of totally disconnected happenings. This is contrary to the biblical view which regards the Church as a divine-

² Avery Dulles, "The Church, the Churches and the Catholic Church," *Theological Studies* 33 (1972) 199-234.

human fellowship realized in a real visible community existing continuously in world history. A fourth approach advocates that the true Church exist in hope and in promise rather than in actual realization. Within history no existing community or combination of communities can claim to be, even momentarily, the church of Christ, though such communities may well be places where the Church is fully actualized and revealed insofar as they are being continually converted to the gospel of Christ. In my view, premature recourse to the consolation of eschatology can have the effect of actually perpetuating the present divisions among Christians by removing the motivation to struggle against them. In addition, the unity of the Church must not be understood only eschatologically, but as a present reality which is to receive its consummation in the Last Day. Finally, a fifth approach suggests that the separation of Christians in their confessional statements and sacramental worship is not ultimately decisive, that the Church is most realized when Christians act together, even across denominational lines, in service toward their fellow men. The adherents of this approach suggest that the best way to promote unity is for Christians to work in solidarity, as though they were in fact members of a single believing community. As they grow together through collaborative efforts, the barriers of suspicion and misunderstanding will melt away. This approach is often accused of emphasizing the horizontal or human dimension at the expense of the vertical or the divine, and of subordinating the truth of dogma to the practicalities of ethics and politics. These, in my view, are the most significant attempts to solve the dilemma of the Church and the churches. In each case the solution is connected with a definite ecclesiological stance. The first ecclesiology looks at the Church primarily in terms of its societal or institutional endowments; the second reverts rather to the interior or mystical aspects of humanity's communion with God and with one another; the third attaches chief importance to the actual experience of God's loving forgiveness in the existential life of the congregation; the fourth accentuates the provisional and promissory character of everything given in the present life; and the fifth views the Church primarily as a healing or transforming agent in the world.

How does Orthodox theology understand the problem of the oneness of the Church and its apparent divisions? Despite its participation in the ecumenical movement, Orthodoxy has never surrendered its belief that it is the "one, holy, catholic and apostolic

Church.³ Despite this claim, or better because of this, Orthodoxy has never ceased to be in dialogue of love and faith with all those Christian communions and churches who seek to recover the visible unity of all Christians in the one Church of God. In its ecumenical involvement, Orthodoxy is challenged to place in God's plan of salvation those Christian communities which, according to her view, are not in communion with the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church because of their differences in matters of faith or practice with her. This task demands theological reflection on the boundaries of the Church: do the canonical boundaries of the Church coincide with the charismatic? Moreover is it possible to recognize the validity of the sacraments of those Christian churches which are not currently in communion with the Orthodox Church? If the response on this issue is affirmative then the Orthodox Church must enumerate the criteria for this recognition.

The tradition of the Orthodox Church on the matter of recognizing the validity of the sacraments of those communities who are not in communion with her is complicated and imprecise. At times, the Church has conveyed the message that the sacraments of schismatics — and even of heretics — are valid and, therefore, that the sacraments can be celebrated outside the strict canonical limits of the Church. Yet, from another perspective, there are occasions in which the Church has suggested the complete absence of grace in any "schismatic" Christian communities. These extreme and opposite positions were formulated early in the life of the Christian Church as it confronted a variety of threats against its unity and purity of faith.

As early as the third century, Cyprian of Carthage advocated that every schism was a departure out of the Church, out of that sanctified and holy land where it alone uses the baptismal spring, the waters of salvation.⁴ In this view the Holy Spirit is not present anywhere outside the canonical community because the limits of the charismatic Church coincide with the limits of the canonical Church. Later, Augustine took an opposite view from Cyprian and suggested that the canonical limits of the Church do not coincide with its

³ Tobor Sabev (ed.), *The Sofia Consultation, Orthodox Involvement in the World Council of Churches* (Geneva, 1982).

⁴ Epist. 71.2. Depending on the circumstances, the Church has essentially advocated either one of these two positions.

charismatic limits, for the Holy Spirit and the charismata of the Spirit can be found outside the canonical limits of the Church. Depending on the circumstances, the Church has essentially advocated either one of these two positions.

Contemporary Orthodox theology has not reflected rigorously on this issue and its implications for relations with other Christian churches from the perspective of its ecumenical involvement. However, the issue has not been totally neglected nor can it be ignored indefinitely. As theological dialogues progress in their task of overcoming divisive issues of the past and as they increase our knowledge and respect for the faith and the piety of other Christian churches and communions, the issue of recognizing the ecclesial reality of other Christian communions will be raised with a greater degree of urgency.

Fr. Georges Florovsky, in an article on "The Limits of the Church,"⁵ discussed the issue of the boundaries of Church and the validity of the sacramental life of those Christian communities which exist "outside" of the canonical limits of the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church. He stated that although Cyprian was right to suggest that the sacraments of the Church are accomplished only in the Church, he defined this *in* hastily and too narrowly.⁶ According to Fr. Florovsky, the communal consciousness of the Church never accepted the equation of her canonical limits with her charismatic boundaries. Florovsky suggested that the theology of Augustine on this matter is very helpful and therefore it should be taken seriously by Orthodox theologians who struggle with this problem. Finally, he concluded that "the Church continues to work in the schisms in expectation of that mysterious hour when the stubborn heart will be in the warmth of God's preeminent grace. When the will and thirst for commonality and unity will finally burst into flame. The 'validity' of the sacraments among schismatics is the mysterious guarantee of their return to catholic plenitude and unity."⁷

John Karmires⁸ believes that since the concept *extra Ecclesiam nulla salus* does not originate from the Scripture it lacks a basic and

⁵ *Church Quarterly Review* 117 (1933) 117-31.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 131.

⁸ John Karmires, "'Η παγκοσμιότης τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ σωτηρίας," *Θεολογία* 51 (1980) 645-91; 52 (1981) 16-45.

central characteristic of an Orthodox doctrine, despite the fact that it has been taught by many Church Fathers. Rather, he considers this concept to be an exhortation to safeguard the unity of the Church against schisms and heresies and he suggests that it should be studied in connection with the historical circumstances at the time that it was uttered. He further explained this concept as suggesting that there is no salvation in the heretical or schismatic churches as independent and self-sufficient entities. Thus, the members of these churches who have been baptized and who live a just life may be saved; or thus, there may even exist some people of God who are or will be saved, although they are not recognized as Christians. Karmires advocates that in a *broader way* members of the Church may be in a mystical and invisible way considered people of other Christian Churches and even religions since God's grace does not operate only or limited to those who are members of the canonical Church but extends to all people that God desires to save.⁹

Metropolitan Damaskinos¹⁰ of Switzerland, reflecting on the same matter takes the whole argument a step further by calling the Orthodox Church to re-evaluate its understanding of her relationship to other Christian churches and religions by affirming as members of the Church all those who confess Jesus Christ as Lord and Savior.¹¹ Referring to those churches which claim to be present manifestations of the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church — and I presume he has in mind Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism — he states that these churches must search for and recognize as Churches in the full sense of the word “Church” those Christian communions which exist beyond their canonical boundaries. Of course this should be done wherever it is possible and it should lead into eucharistic communion which presupposes unity in the faith and

⁹ Ibid. p. 21: “Οἱ ἐκ τῶν πρὸ καὶ μετὰ Χριστὸν ἑτεροθρήσκων καὶ ἑτεροδόξων πιστοὶ καὶ δίκαιοι πάντων τῶν αἰώνων καὶ πασῶν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων φυλῶν δύνανται νὰ θεωρῶνται ὡς ἀνήκοντες μυστικῶς καὶ ἀρρήτως καὶ ἀοράτως εἰς τὴν ἐν εὐρυτέρᾳ ἐννοίᾳ Ἑκκλησίᾳ ἢ ὁπωσδήποτε ὡς διατελοῦντες πόθῳ εἰς ἀόρατον μετ’ αὐτῆς σχέσιν καὶ συνάφειαν, καθ’ ὅσον καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῶν ἐπεξετάθη καὶ ἐπεκτείνεται ἡ παντουργὸς πρόνοια καὶ σωτήριος χάρις τοῦ θέλοντος πάντας ἀνθρώπους σωθῆναι φιλανθρώπου Θεοῦ, τοῦ γινώσκοντος καὶ δυναμένου βεβαίως καὶ δι’ ἄλλων τρόπων νὰ χορηγῇ αὐτοῖς τὴν χάριν καὶ σωτηρίαν, οὐδαμῶθεν δὲ περιοριζομένου ἢ κωλυομένου πρὸς τοῦτον,” Matsoukas, *Ὁρθοδοξία καὶ αἵρεση*, p. 176.

¹⁰ Damaskinos Papandreou, *Τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ σήμερον* (Athens, 1981).

¹¹ Ibid. p. 17.

church structures of the apostolic tradition. His remarks, here, are particularly significant for ecumenism because he implies that those churches which claim to be in continuity with the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church should recognize each other as manifestations of the One Church and they should proceed further to recognize other Christian communions as churches, provided that they adhere in the same apostolic faith and the structure of their churches are in continuity with the apostolic tradition. However, this presupposes that all Christians — including the Orthodox — must transcend their fanaticism and filled with Christ's love may search, find and recognize as brothers those who live beyond their canonical boundaries. Toward this goal, he thinks that it would be helpful if the bilateral dialogues develop models of unity for the greater advancement of the unity of all Christian churches.

Metropolitan John (Zizioulas) of Pergamos, believes that Orthodox theology does not yet have a satisfactory solution to the problem of the limits of the Church and of their implications for those individuals and communities who exist outside of these limits.¹² He confesses that "it is certainly not easy to exclude from the realm and the operation of the Spirit so many Christians who do not belong to the Orthodox Church. There are saints outside the Orthodox Church. How can we understand that theologically? How can we account for it without saying that the canonical limits of the Church are not important."¹³ In his view, the canonical boundaries of the Church are important but not absolute. The canonical limits of the Church should not be conceived as fences or division, but as ways of relating the local community to the rest of the world. He further suggests that baptism creates a limit to the Church and that "within this baptismal limit it is conceivable that there may be divisions, but any division within those limits is not the same as the division between the Church and those outside the baptismal limit."¹⁴ From this perspective, outside of baptism there is no church, but within baptism, even if there is a division, one may still speak of the Church.¹⁵ For the Orthodox

¹²John Zizioulas, "Orthodox Ecclesiology and the Ecumenical Movement," *Sourozh* 21 (1985) 16-27.

¹³*Ibid.* p. 22.

¹⁴*Ibid.* p. 23.

¹⁵*Ibid.*

there is a break in communion if we are not in position to love one another and to confess the same faith. However, "this break does not mean that one falls outside the realm of the Church." This, according to Zizioulas, is reflected by the reluctance of the Orthodox after the schism of the eleventh century and until recently, to appoint bishops in regions of western Christendom, since in their understanding the schism did not imply the creation of two churches. By contrast, the Roman Catholics created their own churches in Orthodox areas by appointing new, western bishops soon after the schism. From the perspective of Orthodox and Roman Catholic ecclesiology, if there are two bishops of the same place only one of them can be bishop of the true Church.¹⁶

Professor Vlasios Pheidas warned at the Third International Theological Conference of the Orthodox Theological Schools (1987) that "the relation of schismatics or heretics to the body of the Orthodox Church is strictly defined by canonical and patristic tradition; thus, there can be no deviation from this without serious dangers for its internal unity."¹⁷ According to his understanding of ecclesiology the one body of Christ cannot be manifested in other ecclesiastical bodies outside of the Orthodox Church "since the body of Christ is only one and not many."¹⁸ However he admits that Orthodox canonical tradition and praxis appraises and classifies those outside the Orthodox Church into various categories analogous to their distance from the Church or deviation from the true faith. This implies that the Church has recognized some form of ecclesiality in those Christian communities outside of its canonical boundaries. They are not easily determined since, as Pheidas advocates, "the Orthodox tradition, accepting the Holy Spirit as bestower of divine grace, which flows from the work of Christ, does not recognize the 'existence' of this grace outside the canonical boundaries of the Orthodox Church. The Holy Spirit dispenses the divine grace only within the body of the Church."¹⁹ Finally, Pheidas recognizes that this exclusive eccle-

¹⁶This basic principle of Orthodox ecclesiology brings us into an encounter with an intense and tragic inner Orthodox ecclesiological problem. This is the phenomenon of multiple jurisdictions by which more than one bishop exists in the same place. This problem seriously weakens the witness and the usefulness of Orthodox ecclesiology in the ecumenical movement.

¹⁷Vlasios Pheidas, "The Limits of the Church," unpublished paper, p. 14.

¹⁸Ibid. p. 8.

¹⁹Ibid. p. 15.

siology may become more flexible and inclusive through a reassessment of the Orthodox patristic tradition concerning the work of the Holy Spirit in relation to the boundaries of the Orthodox Church which will be a "further development" of the orthodox fundamental ecclesiological teaching on this issue.²⁰

It is evident that many contemporary Orthodox theologians although they have never surrendered the claim that the Orthodox Church is the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church, are not in haste to call the other Christian churches and communions non-churches, void of God's salvific presence and action. They recognize that God is not limited by the canonical boundaries of the Orthodox Church in his work for the salvation of all people. Therefore, other Christian churches, and even other religions²¹ may embody his saving will to the extent that they share at least something of the nature and functions of the church of God. To qualify as a "Church" in the full theological sense of the term, a community must be apostolic in its faith, sacraments and ministry. More specifically, it must subscribe to the Orthodox faith as defined in the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, it must administer the sacraments, and it must possess an apostolic ministry transmitted through an uninterrupted apostolic succession. These criteria may be modified according to the attitudes and the theological sophistication that prevail at particular moments in the life of the Church. For example, on the basis of a more flexible view of apostolic succession, Orthodox and Catholic theologians are taking a more positive attitude than previously toward the ministries and the sacraments of Anglicans and Protestants. The ecumenical movement provides the context in which baptized but separated Christians can meet in order to examine whether they can love one another and confess the same faith with a view to eucharistic communion. For the Orthodox the eucharist is the expression of the very nature of the Church in its fullness, and

²⁰Ibid. p. 14.

²¹George Khodr, "Christianity in a Pluralistic World — The Economy of the Holy Spirit," *The Ecumenical Review* 23 (1971) 118-28; Anastasios Gianoulatos, "Emerging Perspectives on the Relationships of Christians to People of Other Faiths," *International Review of Mission* 77 (1988) 332-46; For an ecumenical perspective on this issue see: George A. Lindbeck, "Fides ex auditu and the Salvation of Non-Christians: Contemporary Catholic and Protestant Positions," Vilmos Vajta (ed.), *The Gospel and the Ambiguity of the Church* (Philadelphia, 1974), pp. 92-123.

what is required for the eucharist is union in love and faith. Without this, it is not possible to speak of eucharistic communion. This process towards unity is seriously handicapped by the unwillingness of the Christian churches to denounce their confessional identities in order to recover their unity in the catholicity of the Christian faith. They have become so conscious of being Orthodox, or Roman Catholic, or Anglican, or Lutheran, that they are all threatened by the ecumenical movement.

Finally, contemporary Orthodox theologians seem to agree that while the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church is the Orthodox Church, this does not mean that other Christian churches and communions are void of any ecclesiological significance to the extent that in their lives aspects of the catholic faith and church structures have been preserved. Thus the irenical interpretation of the first type of solution of the ecumenical problem that Dulles suggested has been currently adopted by orthodox theologians.

Oikonomia and the churches

In 1971 the preparatory commission of the great and holy Council of the Orthodox Church produced a document on the issue of *oikonomia* in the Orthodox Church.²² This document was a significant step towards the recognition of the ecclesial nature of other Christian communities. It affirmed that "the Holy Spirit acts upon other Christians in very many ways, depending on their degree of faith and hope."²³ It further advocated that "Christians outside the Church, even when they do not maintain their faith intact and immaculate, nonetheless keep their link with Christ . . . These Christians confess that, through hope, they possess Christ, the common Lord, along with all Christians, because the confession of Christ unites us all, he being

²²*Towards the Great Council, Introductory Reports of the Interorthodox Commission in Preparation for the Next Great and Holy Council of the Orthodox Church* (London, 1972), pp. 39-54. For further discussion on the concept of Economy see: Amilka Alivizatos, *Oikonomia katá to kanonikó díkaiο τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας* (Athens, 1949); Metropolitan Vartholomaios, "Το πρόβλημα τῆς οἰκονομίας σήμερον," *Γρηγόριος Παλαμάς* 65 (1982) 20-36; John Erickson, "Oikonomia in Byzantine Canon Law," *Law, Church and Society: Essays in Honor of Stephan Kuttner*. (Ed.) K. Pennington and R. Somerville (Philadelphia, 1977), pp. 225-36; D. Staniloae, "The Economy of Salvation and the Ecclesiastical Economy," *Diakonia* 5 (1970) 267-92.

²³*Towards the Great Council*, p. 45.

our common Lord and the Hope of our final salvation.”²⁴ In the lives of those outside of the Orthodox Church “grace is not completely wanting . . . because they still maintain some form of relationship with Jesus Christ and his Church, and so the light of the divine grace of the Church in some ways still enlightens them.”²⁵

Concerning the evaluation of the sacraments performed outside of the Orthodox Church by other ecclesial communities, the document suggested that the Church may proceed to recognize their validity through “economy” based on the following criteria: first, by the degree of closeness shown by them to the faith, doctrine and sacramental grace of the Orthodox Church; second by the evaluation of their feelings toward the Orthodox Church; third by the zeal which they have displayed for their incorporation into the body of the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church and finally by whether these communities have baptized their members in the name of the Holy Trinity. At the same time however, it is emphatically emphasized that the principle of “economy” can only rightly be applied where dogma is not in jeopardy. The document expressed the desire that the Orthodox Church will apply with liberty and generosity the principle of “economy” in its relations with other Christian churches (oriental Orthodox, Roman Catholicism and churches of the Reformation) when it is befitting and until the various Christian churches unite themselves into the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church. This suggestion presupposes that what separates the Orthodox from Roman Catholicism, the Reformed churches and non-Chalcedonian churches are not essential differences in matters of faith and doctrine since “our Holy Orthodox Church will in no way fail to apply *ἀκρίβεια* (exactness) to those articles of faith and sources of grace which must be upheld, yet she will not neglect to employ *oikonomia* whenever possible in local contacts with those outside her — provided always that they believe in God adored in Trinity and the basic tenets of the Orthodox faith which follow from this, remaining always within the framework of the teaching of the ancient Church, one and indivisible.”²⁶ Thus, if the Orthodox apply the principle of “economy” in the ecumenical involvement, they must prove to those who view

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid. p. 50.

ecumenism as heresy and religious syncretism that what continues to separate us from other Christian communities is not substantial differences in matter of faith, but a variance in liturgical customs and ecclesiastical ordinances. The document for understandable reasons did not state the exact nature of those ecclesial communities which lack apostolic succession. Can the Orthodox exercise "economy" in regard to the recognition of the validity of the ministry of churches which lack the fullness of apostolic succession? Does the interruption of the continuity of Apostolic succession constitute a matter of doctrinal difference? Despite these, this statement is the first in its kind in the life of the Orthodox Church. The Orthodox Church from the beginning of its ecumenical involvement, and as early as the first Faith and Order Conference at Lausanne in 1927, advocated that the principle of "economy" cannot be applied in the process of recovering the *communio in sacris* of the divided Christendom.²⁷ Thus this statement of the preparatory conference was destined to raise the eyebrows of many conservative theologians and the hopes of many Orthodox ecumenists.

Upon the publication of this report, five professors from the School of Theology of the University of Athens,²⁸ submitted a memorandum to the Holy Synod of the Orthodox Church of Greece and the Preparatory Commission of the Great Holy Council of the Orthodox Church, in which they denounced this document for the destructive and divisive consequences which it will have upon the Orthodox Church if adopted as the official teaching. The professors were particularly concerned that the sacraments and the ministry of the non-orthodox Christian churches, through the use of economy, may be recognized as ecclesiologicaly valid. Yet despite their strong objections, it was difficult for them not to recognize the operation of God's grace and the presence of Jesus Christ in other Christians outside of the Orthodox Church. They viewed the sacraments of western Christians as "incomplete," "disfigured," or "deficient" in grace and truth — but significantly not entirely void of God's presence — which may become perfect and complete only when their respective churches

²⁷Constantine Patelos (ed.), *The Orthodox Church in the Ecumenical Movement, Documents and Statements 1902-1975* (Geneva, 1978), p. 81.

²⁸P. Bratsiotis, P. Trembelas, K. Muratides, A. Theodorou, N. Bratsiois, *Υπόμνημα εις την ιεράν Σύνοδον της Ἐκκλησίας της Ἑλλάδος* (Athens, 1972).

come into communion with the inexhaustible source of sanctification, the holy Orthodox Church. In such cases, the Orthodox Church, through the exercise of economy, may recognize the Trinitarian baptism and ministries of other Christian communities, under the provision that the totality of these communities are in the process of becoming Orthodox in doctrine, faith, and life.²⁹ Yet an absolute presupposition for such recognition, by economy, of the ministry of other Christian communities is that these communities believe in the sacramental nature of the ordained ministry, as it is understood by the Orthodox Church, and that their ministries are the outcome of a linear apostolic succession without discontinuity. Generally, they stated that the Orthodox Church cannot move to recognize the ministry and the sacraments of these communities without their prior commitment to the recovery of the unity of the one Church.

The document was further criticized by Vartholomaios Archonidis,³⁰ Chief Secretary of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and now Metropolitan of Chalcedon who stated:

The use of economy by the Orthodox Church in recognizing non-Orthodox sacraments does not imply at all that it constitutes intercommunion amongst Orthodoxy and these other Churches. The matter is essentially ecclesiological and it would have been more useful for the ecumenical dialogue, if it was clearly stressed in the document, which eventually will become the synodical decision of our Church. *As long as the schism still exists, intercommunion between Orthodox and non-Orthodox, which is aimed at by some, is not possible to be accepted by the Orthodox Church even by economy*, except in certain cases where the absence of a priest of this denomination forces a Christian to turn to the priest of another Church for the catering of his pressing religious needs.³¹

He further emphasized:

the Orthodox Church . . . does not believe in, and therefore does not aim at Intercommunion between Churches except in the communion within the One Church. Such communion in the Holy

²⁹Ibid. p. 44.

³⁰Επίσκεψις, 50 (1972) 6-7.

³¹Ibid. p. 7.

Eucharist and the other sacraments will come naturally, when by God's will there will be full conformity and communion of faith, and a visible expression of this will be the communion of the Body and Blood of our common Lord from the same common Chalice. Such sacramental communion will be the end of our divisions.³²

Metropolitan Vartholomaios without denying the ecclesial nature of those Christian communions who are not in communion with Orthodoxy, suggested that the use of economy in recognizing other Christian communions is inadmissible because it ignores the ecclesiological differences of Orthodoxy with the other churches. The sacraments of other Christian churches cannot be recognized through the use of economy if the other Christian communions are not acknowledged by the Orthodox Church as expression of the fullness of one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church and being in the process of recovering through unity the oneness of God's Church.

The document was defended by Metropolitan Methodios of Aksum³³ who pointed out that this document was only a proposal that could be improved through successive revisions based on the observations and the theological criticism of the entire Orthodox Church until it reaches its final stages to be submitted to the coming pan-Orthodox synod. He asserted that "witnessing the contemporary spirit in the Christian world, we have to acknowledge that though the Holy Ghost dwells in the Orthodox Church, he certainly operates amongst other Christians too."³⁴ He also believes that through the concept of economy, it is possible to recognize the sacraments of those Christian Churches who preserved uninterrupted apostolic succession.³⁵ Finally, the Orthodox Church guided by the Holy Spirit in the up-building of Christ's body must be able to re-evaluate her relations with other Christian churches and communions who seek to recover the unity of Christ's Church through love and faithfulness to the catholicity of the Christian faith. Despite the sincere efforts of the Archbishop Methodios to prove the ecumenical importance of "economy," it is evident in his writing that the ecumenical open-

³²Ibid.

³³Metropolitan Methodios of Aksum, *Περί ἐκκλησιαστικῆς οἰκονομίας: ἀπάντησις εἰς καθηγητὰς τῆς θεολογίας* (Athens, 1972).

³⁴Ibid. p. 134.

³⁵Ibid. p. 65.

ness of Orthodoxy is rather based on the recognition that the Holy Spirit who leads all people into unity in Christ is operative beyond the canonical boundaries of the Orthodox Church.

In 1976, the first pre-synodal Pan-Orthodox Conference upon the recommendation of the secretariat for the preparation of the Holy and Great Synod dropped the principle of economy from the list of the subjects of the coming council of the Orthodox Church with the explanation that the debate on this principle proved that the Orthodox Church has not reached a consensus on the concept of *oikonomia* which can permit a discussion without dangerous divisive consequences.³⁶ This was unfortunate because what they accomplished with this action was to postpone a major debate within the Orthodox Church about the ecclesiological stature of the other Christian churches. But it may also be argued that this decision was wisely taken because the whole issue of ecumenicity was situated in the wrong context, that is, of discussing the principle of economy.

The basic purpose of this paper was to survey the current reflections of Orthodox theologians on the nature of the Church boundaries in order to better understand their ecumenical involvement and their ecclesiological assessment of other Christian churches and communions. Orthodox theologians, while they still maintain that the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church is fully revealed in the sacramental life of the Orthodox Church they do not deny that God acts through other Christian churches not in sacramental communion with her for the salvation of the world. The Orthodox Church through her canonical boundaries is safeguarding the truth of divine revelation as this was proclaimed and interpreted by the apostles and the Fathers of the Church. Thus, its unique mission in the ecumenical movement is to be the main witness of catholicity of the Christian gospel.

³⁶ *Συνοδικά* (Geneva, 1978), p. 171.

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The Date of Pascha, the Need to Continue the Debate

ALKIVIADIS C. CALIVAS

PASCHA, WHICH CELEBRATES THE RESURRECTION OF OUR LORD AND Savior Jesus Christ, is the fundamental event of the Christian faith and constitutes the center of all liturgical celebrations. However, shrouded in a mist of ambiguities, confusion, and inconsistencies, the date for the celebration of this chief feast becomes problematic for those living in a pluralistic society such as our own. In order to sustain annual heightened interest in the "correct" date for the celebration of Pascha, which observedly quickly dissipates after the Great and Holy Week, we must seek an adequate solution to this sensitive issue, for all Christian people, in the spirit of the Fathers of the First Ecumenical Synod.

A brief survey of several historical events and data will help us to better understand why Christians of the Eastern and Western Churches celebrate Pascha at different times.

The Hebrew Passover and the Christian Pascha: Controversies in the Early Church

In light of evidence from documents of the second century there appears to be certainty of an annual celebration of Pascha by the Apostolic Community. Several suggestions in the New Testament and facts surrounding the paschal controversies of the second century clearly indicate that the Christian celebration of the Lord's death and resurrection were closely related to the Hebrew festival of the Passover.

At the outset, therefore, a primary question to resolve concerns the point in time that the Hebrew Passover ("Nomikon Phaska") was

celebrated. According to the Mosaic Law (Ex 12.1-20, 43-50), the Passover is to occur annually in the month of Aviv, or Spring season (i.e., Nissan, March-April) which was considered to be first of all the months of the year. The Jews, like other ancient peoples, made use of the lunar calendar, which falls short of the solar year by roughly eleven days. Since festivals would eventually wander into wrong seasons, if their occurrence followed the cycle of the lunar month, the lunar calendar was regularly adjusted to account for such periodic changes with the addition or intercalation of a thirteenth month, known as the Second Abar, immediately after the month of Adar, which preceded Nisan. The Jewish calendar was definitively regularized and systematized around 360 A. D., some thirty-five years after the Synod of Nicea. Elements constituting the Jewish calendar are those universal to all calendars and include the day, week, month, and year. In the Jewish understanding, each day begins in the evening after sunset, with each new month marked by the appearance of a new moon. Thus, Passover was a movable nocturnal festival celebrated annually on the first full moon on a fixed night, 14/15 Nissan, which according to Philo, also coincides with the spring equinox.

In light of this dating of the Jewish Passover, the Church inherited a context from which to observe the paschal mystery of Christ's cross and empty tomb. Ironically, it was precisely the differing emphases given to these two aspects of the paschal mystery by certain Christian communities at that time, that caused the paschal controversies of the second century and breached the unity of the Church. On one side, the churches of Asia Minor laid greater stress on the redemptive death of the risen Lord and defended the right to observe Pascha on the fourteenth of Nissan, no matter which day of the week this should occur; such observance, they argued, represented ancient tradition. For the churches of Asia Minor, Pascha was essentially related to the Crucifixion, and was observed on the fourteenth day of Nissan, the day on which the Lord was crucified. All the other churches claiming to embody Apostolic tradition placed greater emphasis on the empty tomb and insisted that the Paschal feast be properly observed only on the Sunday following the Jewish Passover; such observance, they argued, was appropriate since the Lord himself was resurrected on that "First day of the Week" and the Church, from the start, observed each Sunday with an eucharistic assembly in honor of the Resurrection. This early controversy, called Quartodeciman, literally Fourteenthism, was especially intensified during the second half

of the second century. Although the observance of Pascha on Sunday finally prevailed, even among the churches of Asia Minor, the controversy remained and unpleasant memory in the life of the Church because the Quartodecimans survived as a sect through the fifth century. Thus, by the end of the second and early third century the Church had positively established Sunday as the sole fitting day to observe annual commemoration of the Lord's resurrection.

In thus reckoning the day for paschal celebration, the early Church continued to rely on Jewish practice. More specifically, early Christians understood as immensely valuable one elemental characteristic of the Passover celebration: that it necessarily occur on the full moon of the spring (vernal) equinox. By emphasizing this important detail in the calculation of the Paschal feast, the Church was assured that the annual observance of the Resurrection would never occur twice in a single year.

The Paschalia: Towards a Solution for a Common Dating of Pascha

By the third century, however, Christians in Rome and especially in Alexandria, a renowned center of commerce, culture, and science in the ancient world, began to cite imperfections in the Jewish calendar. It appears that after the destruction of Jerusalem, Jewish communities in Palestine and the diaspora began to depend on various local calendars to determine the paschal moon; the result being, among other things, an allowance for the Passover to occur sometimes before the spring equinox. Thus, the Christian world, during the course of the third century, began to free itself from its dependence on the Jewish calendar for fixing the date of the Paschal feast. Only a small group of Christians, namely those from Syria, Mesopotamia, and Cilicia, persisted in following the Jewish reckoning of the Passover. Because of their unreserved dependence on the Jewish Passover, the first or protopascha, these schismatics were known as the Protopaschites.

First to devise a mathematical table, called "the paschal cycle" or the "paschalia," by which the date of Pascha was fixed for a sixteen year cycle, was Hippolytos of Rome (+ 222). Later, in the same century, Augustales developed a more accurate eighty-four year cycle which was destined to be accepted by other western Churches in the first decades of the fourth century. An even more accurate paschal cycle, however, was developed by the distinguished Alexandrian mathematician, and later bishop of Laodiceia, Anatolios (c. 268).

His paschal cycle of nineteen years, based on the lunar and solar computations of earlier Greek astronomers, was the cycle to be adopted by all the churches of the East.

Despite such progress, a solution for a common dating of Pascha still frustrated the Church. Adoption of two distinct paschal cycles in the East and the West, the fixing of different dates for the spring equinox, as well as indifference by the West to the time of the celebration of the Jewish Passover caused these churches, more often than not, to celebrate the feast on different Sundays. Couple this with the confusion added by the Quartodeciman and the Protopaschite sects and one can sense the urgency confronting the Church, at the dawn of the fourth century, on this matter.

The Decision of the First Ecumenical Synod and Subsequent Development

Deeply affected by the paschal controversies, the early Church sought to find a solution for the common celebration of the feast. As evidence of the universality of this concern, the First Ecumenical Synod which was convened at Nicaea in 325 A.D. to address the heresy of Arius, placed this issue on its agenda. In its deliberation, the Synod put an end (or did it?) to the seemingly endless debate over the date of Pascha. However, the text of the Synod's decision on the dating of Pascha and the reasoning by which it was dictated, have never been sufficiently transmitted to the present generation, and, as some suggest, may be "the main cause for confusion in opinions about the canonical norms for paschalia."

Two canons, the first from the Council of Antioch (c. 341 A.D.) and the seventh of the so-called Apostolic Canons, together with several other authoritative documents of the post-Nicean period fill this void with valued testimonies reflecting the definition given at Nicea. The decision at Nicaea, according to evidence provided by these documents, appears to have had two main thrusts: First, was to detach the Christian community from all dependency on the Jewish calendar and second, was to define broadly the principal guiding rules for the computation of the date of Pascha. In the case of the former, this was a clear move to counter the Protopaschites and all other Judaizers as well as being the very first step towards establishing a common paschal cycle. The Synod did not deal with details regulating the paschalia, but apparently left the task of their computation to the patriarch of Alexandria; who, by way of further explanation, was

commissioned to communicate annually with all local churches, informing them of the date of Pascha. In the case of the latter, these rules can be summarized in three key phrases; the spring equinox, the full moon, and Sunday. That is to say, therefore, that Pascha is to always occur on a Sunday, following the full moon of the spring equinox.

According to this prescription, Pascha is to be celebrated on the first Sunday after the full moon which occurs between March 21 and April 19, since the Alexandrians had determined March 21 as the day of the spring equinox. Thus, according to the calendar, the earliest possible day for the celebration of Pascha is March 22, if the full moon occurs on March 21, and the latest being April 25, if the full moon occurs of April 18. Would that the issue be as simple as it appears. Some further historical facts will help us to understand why this issue isn't clear for us today, nor was it for the Christians of the fourth century. More importantly, however, it will enable us to assess where we are today, how we got here and where we can realistically go.

In spite of the fact that the Synod of Nicea set a clear course and pattern, because of the use of diverse paschalia, the common celebration of Pascha was to remain elusive for several more centuries. In 387 A. D., for example, we are told that the churches of Gaul observed Pascha of March 21, those in Italy on April 18 and those in the East on April 25. Although the Synod of Nicea was clear in its intent and purpose, two decisive elements can be attributed to dating differences in the celebration of Pascha; the computation of the spring equinox and longer or shorter paschal cycles being used by local churches. Eastern tradition, following the lead of Alexandria, settled on the Anatolian nineteen year paschal cycle and thus observed March 21 as the spring equinox. Gaul and the Celtic churches on the other hand used alternative paschal tables. Eventually, however, these Western churches adopted the Roman practice, which, in turn, conformed to the Alexandrian computation.

In 437 A.D., Patriarch of Alexandria Cyril the Great, to assure continuity and accuracy, devised a paschal table based on the Anatolian cycle which stipulated the date of Pascha for the ensuing ninety-five year period. His course of action proved providential, giving the local churches a ready and stable reference in a period marked by turbulence and uncertainty, due to heresies and the encroachment of barbaric tribes.

A century later, Scythian monk Dionysios (Exiguus) living in Rome

in 525 A. D., was called upon to construct a new paschal table. Translating into Latin the table of Cyril of Alexandria, he thus introduced the Eastern tradition to Rome. It should be noted that the same Dionysios is also responsible for introducing the Christian Era; i.e., counting of the years from the Incarnation which was, in due course, accepted by all of Christendom.

Thus, after an arduously long and painful journey, the one holy, catholic, apostolic and undivided Church of the East and West was able to rejoice in the much desired common celebration of the Paschal feast. But alas, the journey is not over.

It may be useful, at this point, to take note of another important development, one canonical in nature, which has had a powerful influence on the Orthodox Church's dating of the Paschal feast. John Zonaras and Theodore Balsamon, two famous twelfth century canonists, in their interpretation of the canons on Pascha, emphasized that the feast must always be held after the Jewish Passover. Thus, they placed the dating of the Christian Pascha in direct and constant dependence on the dating of the Jewish Passover. This interpretation gradually became incontestable. Matthew Blastaris, in his interpretation, added that the Christian Pascha must also not coincide with the Passover. In fact, however, according to modern canonists, the canons do not stipulate any principle of dependence of the date of our Pascha on the time of the Jewish Passover. The Nicean decision, as we have seen, freed the Church from any dependence on the Jewish calendar. Its definition, however, was such that the Christian Pascha, although independent of any and all Jewish calendars, is in fact celebrated after the Mosaic Passover (the "Nomikon Pascha"), as described in Exodus, and as it is determined by the Christian calculations of the spring equinox and its full moon.

The Establishment of the New Calendar: Additional Complications.

In the year 1582 a new chapter in the paschal controversy began when Pope Gregory XIII introduced the New calendar, bearing his name, which replaced the older, and by then, inaccurate Julian calendar. For purpose of clarification it should be noted that the Julian calendar was devised in 46 B. C. by Emperor Julius Caesar. The length of the year in the Julian calendar was almost, but not quite, accurate. In fact, by 325 A. D., the error was enough to cause the spring equinox to fall on March 21. Thus, the churches of the East, as we have seen, who had fixed March 21 as the day of the vernal equinox and the

earliest possible date for the paschal full moon, suffered a dilemma. Unreformed, the Julian calendar wandered further forward in the seasons. By 1582 it was calculated that the spring equinox, which was fixed on March 21, was now in reality occurring on March 11; a date determined by virtue of the fact that the Julian calendar jumped forward one day towards the summer every 128 years.

The new calendar, devised by the Calabrian astronomer Luis Lilio, however, was neither sufficient in fully correcting the calendar nor did it win immediate and universal approval by the Christian world. It was seen as a "papal calendar" and, thus, not judged on its scientific merit and accuracy. One must recall that, at the time of its establishment, Western Europe was sorely fragmented by the Protestant Reformation and the Schism of 1054 (which divided the Latin West from the Orthodox East).

Ironically, digressing for a moment, it can be argued that the need for calendar reform was first proposed in the East. The philosopher-astronomer Nikephoros Gregoras, in a memorandum of 1325 to the Emperor Andronikos II Paleologos (1283-1328), suggested the changes necessary to align the calendar with the true spring equinox. The emperor, while sympathetic, chose not to follow the recommendation out of the fear that such a change would cause confusion and division among the masses. Ten years later in 1335 the famous canonist and monk Matthew Blastaris recognized the same need for calendar reform, but shared the fears of the then deceased Emperor Andronikos II. Once again, in 1371, the monk astronomer Isaak Argyros proposed amendment to the paschalia in order that they may conform to the true spring equinox, from which the Julian calendar was steadily moving away, but no change was made.

By the end of the eighteenth century, however, the new calendar was finally adopted by all of Western Christendom. In 1924, and shortly thereafter, following the lead of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the new calendar was also adopted by a majority of the Orthodox Churches. Today only the churches of Jerusalem, Russia, Serbia, some jurisdictions of the diaspora, and the monasteries of Mt. Athos continue to follow the Julian calendar.

Coping with the Two Calendars: A Temporary Compromise.

If the Paschal feast is to be celebrated annually on the first Sunday after the full moon following the spring equinox (this means, therefore, that in any given year the date of Pascha could vary over

a thirty-five day period commencing on March 22 and ending on April 25), one ought to justifiably question why this formula appears to be inconsistent with present day Orthodox practice. In response, it should be noted that the Orthodox Church functions with two calendars, resulting in ambiguities and inconsistencies which surround the paschal feast.

The churches which adopted the new Gregorian calendar, beginning with the Ecumenical Patriarchate in 1924, made a conscious decision: In order to protect and maintain the unity of the Church, they would compromise, reckon and observe the paschal feast by the old Julian calendar; which by then had a thirteen day difference with the Gregorian. This meant that the paschal cycle of the Julian calendar had to be superimposed upon the Gregorian. To translate this adjustment in terms of the new calendar, the five week period within which Pascha could occur now became April 4 through May 8, thus corresponding to the Julian dates of March 22-April 25. Because the spring equinox is not fixed in accordance with the Gregorian calendar, with which we are familiar, but by the Julian, the Julian March 21 is in reality our April 2 (New calendar). The paschal Sunday is determined accordingly in order that all Orthodox churches celebrate Pascha *on the same Sunday, although technically not on the same date*¹

Future Course of Action: Recovering the Spirit of Nicea.

Having said this much, we now need to consider what implications such a scenario offers the future.

The first step in overcoming the ambiguities surrounding the date of Pascha and correcting, in the process, the uncomfortable inconsistencies which they project upon the Typicon, is the adoption of the New calendar by the canonical Orthodox Churches. While it is perhaps difficult to comprehend, and solution to the Paschal question rests the decision of those canonical Orthodox Churches currently adhering to the Julian calendar to break with an honored, but no longer viable and operative, tradition. Such becomes especially true when we consider the fact that the early Church never created her own calendar but chose to accept and adopt the prevailing civil

¹E.g., in 1989 Pascha was celebrated on April 30 (which is the same as April 17 of the Old Calendar); in 1990 Pascha was on April 15 (which is the same as April 2 of the Old Calendar).

calendar. As real as the inexactness of the Julian calendar is, so too is the genuine attachment to it by a large block of canonical Orthodox Christians. Oftentimes attachment to externals of the faith rooted in long traditions are the hardest to break. This important first step leading to the adoption of a common calendar is essentially a pastoral task. This fact was highlighted and emphasized in a communique issued in 1977 by the members of the Consultation on the Date of Easter, called by the Secretariat for the Preparation of the Great and Holy Council upon the mandate of the First Pan-Orthodox Preconciliar Conference. This Consultation, composed of specialists in canon, law, astronomy, history, and sociology was held at the Ecumenical Center of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Chambesy, Switzerland from June 28 to July 2, 1977. The communique reads, in part, as follows:

To fulfill its mandate, the meeting on the one hand ought to consider the desire existing in the Orthodox Church to see Easter celebrated by all Christians together, but on the other hand it ought also to take into account the pastoral difficulties which the Church must examine attentively from every angle. This Church has the burden of taking into account the present pastoral imperatives of Orthodoxy in the West, while at the same time maintaining a balanced vision of things and avoiding a premature pan-Orthodox decision.

Also affirmed by the Consultation was the fact that lunar tables for the Paschalia, which are still in use for the determination of the Paschal full moon, are lagging by five days, it was further noted that this discrepancy will increase in time.

It is obvious, I believe, from what has been previously noted that, by assigning the task of informing the churches of the date of Pascha to the patriarch of Alexandria, the intent of the Fathers of the First Ecumenical Synod was entirely clear: To employ the most accurate use of astronomical data available from the scientific community for a correct computation of the date of Pascha. This sense of dependency upon accurate scientific data was likewise accentuated by the 1977 Consultation:

For this reason the Consultation unanimously recommends to the next Pan-Orthodox Preconciliar Conference that a commission of astronomers be entrusted with the determination,

for as long a period as possible, of the Sunday after the first full moon following the vernal equinox. The Consultation sees in this initiative on the part of the Orthodox Church a contribution to the universal determination of the date of Pascha for all Christians.

At a symposium of Orthodox theologians held in Athens in 1969 to study the paschal problem and the growing concern of all Christians to find a solution for a common celebration of the feast, among other things discussed were: the problem of revising the Paschalia, interpretation of canon law, and various proposals for the institution of a chronological order setting a fixed and common date for Pascha. According to these proposals the paschal Sunday would always fall within an established and defined seven-day period; such as April 8-14 (the proposal of Patriarch Athenagoras); April 15-21 (the proposal of the Athens Symposium); April 12-18 with the possibility in several instances of a later dating (the proposal of Professor D. P. Ogitsky of the Theological Academy of Moscow).

Similar, and other, proposals were brought before the World Council of Churches at its Fifth Assembly in Nairobi in 1975. However, the Orthodox Churches at this Assembly deferred on any decision, declaring that they felt bound to calculate the date of Pascha in the traditional way until such time as all Orthodox Churches had expressly agreed on any change. The issue of a fixed, common date was on the agenda of the 1977 Consultation as well. Regarding this issue, the Consultation arrived at the following decision:

It is known that there have been proposals concerning the celebration of Easter on a fixed Sunday. The two most noteworthy proposals have been those in favor of the second Sunday of April and that in favor of the Sunday following the second Saturday of April. Although some Churches were in favor, pastoral concern has prevailed in dismissing this two-fold proposal, which would risk provoking schisms in certain Orthodox Churches, seeing that such a proposal betrays the letter of Nicea's intentions and the entire Orthodox tradition which maintains that Easter be celebrated on the Sunday following the first moon after the vernal equinox.

Thus, for the Orthodox Church, the proposed suggestions for a

fixed date, while noteworthy, are deemed, in the final analysis, unworkable and unacceptable. The Consultation of 1977, with its several recommendations to the churches, appears to have defined Orthodoxy's future course of action, in relating to the paschal question, in broad, yet specific terms. The focus of inquiry remains constant: the spirit and simplicity of the Council of Nicea's direct formula. The spirit of the Council is clear: the Church is obliged to calculate the time of Pascha precisely and correctly through the use of all available scientific data: its formula being clear enough: the dating of Pascha to be the Sunday after the full moon of the spring equinox. In consideration of this, two things need to be done. First, there is the need to settle, once and for all, the issue of the two calendars by mounting a new, strong, and sustained pastoral effort to inform and edify the faithful. Second, there is the need to reform and adjust the Paschalia, of both the East and the West, by canonists working in harmony with a commission of astronomers.

While doing this work, to paraphrase the communique of the 1977 Consultation, it is most desirable for the Church to study all the questions on the paschal feast in collaboration with all Christians who are interested in them.

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The Divine in Nature: Animism or Panentheism?

S. A. MOUSALIMAS

LINEAGES AND NATIONS THROUGHOUT THE FAR NORTH HAVE BECOME Greek Orthodox, from Saami in the west to Tlingit in the east, so much so, that one may say Orthodoxy is far northern. A way of understanding this phenomenon is by perceiving the divine in nature as it is expressed in Eastern Orthodox cultures; for we may then discover a certain affinity with the ancient hunter and pastoral cultures of the North.

In this paper, I shall attempt to bring out the affinity by: providing definitions, before presenting examples from various aspects of Eastern Orthodox cultures with regard to the concept of the divine in nature. Then, I shall identify some inherent principles within these cultures that differ from a naive pantheism; and finally pose the question implied in the title: whether this concept should be considered animism; and if it should, then whether the meaning of animism might need to be reconsidered. The conclusion will repeat the opening statement, and will suggest a mode of interpreting cultural relationships and cultural change where Far Northern peoples have become Eastern Orthodox Christians.

Definitions.

Greek Orthodoxy emphasizes the complementary realities of divine immanence and divine transcendence. In its more radical sense, this

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transcendence means a complete freedom from universal constraints; it does not mean an existence apart from, or outside, the universe.¹ Rather than placing God in a dimension apart, this transcendence thus allows God a boundless activity within the cosmos, as essentially free from all the categorizations and restrictions that govern phenomena. Rather than placing the divine outside, this allows boundless immanence: an unlimited and potentially surprising participation of the divine in nature, and reciprocally of nature in the divine.²

A convenient term for this concept is panentheism, whose meaning can be found in its etymology from the Greek: *pan* meaning "all," *en* "in," *theos* "God": "all-in-God." It is different from pantheism, "all-(is)-God," and different, at the other extreme, from deism, "(all)-away from-(God)," or "(all)-apart from-(God)." (Although the latter might seem to derive from *deus*, it may be more probable that it derives from the Latin preposition *de*, "from.") Deism is synonymous with theism in the works of some writers, for example Diderot who translated the eighteenth century English deists into French as theists; but non-synonymous in the works of other writers who use theism to signify a belief in a deity that intervenes at times, while they reserve deism to signify no intervention. Whether synonymous or not, theism and deism indicate a transcendent deity existing apart from, or outside, the universe, and they comprise the more-or-less secularized worldview which many people have today.³ In contrast, panentheism expresses the complementary realities of divine transcendence and divine immanence: indeed, radical transcendence and boundless immanence. This panentheism is expressed consistently in Eastern Orthodox cultures. I shall provide examples from patristic theology, iconography,

¹ See, e.g., Saint Gregory Palamas, *The Triads* 3.1.29, 2.9 (London, 1983), pp. 84-85, 96.

² For a criticism of a theory about "participation" that has entered the field of social anthropology, see S. A. Mousalimas, "The Concept of Participation in Levy-Bruhl's 'Primitive Mentality'," *The Journal of Social Anthropology at Oxford* 21 (1990) in print.

³ For the development of deism into the scientific worldview, see Philip Sherrard, *The Eclipse of Man and Nature: an Enquiry into the Origins and Consequences of Modern Science* (MA, 1987); for the development of theism to predominance in Western theology, see Norman Powell Williams, *The Ideas of the Fall and of Original Sin: a Historical and Critical Survey* Oxford University Bampton Lectures (London, 1927).

literature, and folk traditions.

Patristic Theology.

In an explanation of the incarnation of the divine in Jesus Christ, Saint Athanasios of Alexandria in Egypt, in the fourth century, expresses a threefold reality: the divine transcendence, the divine immanence, and this immanence made specific in the incarnation of Jesus Christ:⁴ Existing in a human body, to which he [the divine Logos] himself gives life, he is still the source of life to all the universe, present in every part of it, yet outside the whole; and he is revealed both through the works of his body and through his activity in the world. "Yet outside the whole" this is the transcendence, "the source of life to all the universe, present in every part of it"; the immanence, "existing in a human body, to which he himself gives life"; and the immanence made specific in the incarnation of Jesus Christ. Saint Athanasios continues, clearly expressing this threefold dynamic again: "His body was for him not a limitation, but an instrument, so that he was both in it and in all things, and outside all things, resting in the Father alone. At one and the same time—this is the wonder—as Man he was living a human life, and as Word he was sustaining the life of the universe, and as Son he was in constant union with the Father." The same dynamic is, of course, expressed also in the Gospel according to John 1.1-14: In the beginning was the Word [*the Logos*], and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. . . . And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us (and we beheld his glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth).⁵

Iconography.

And the same dynamic is expressed through icons of Christ. In the photostephanon—the "crown of light": the oriental halo that encircles the whole face—there are found within the photostephena of saints who have been sanctified through Christ: *omega* at the zenith; *omicron* at one side; and *nu* at the other side. Together they spell

⁴ Saint Athanasios of Alexandria, *On the Incarnation* 17 (New York, 1953), p. 45.

⁵ Notice how the rendering of *Logos* as "Word" would lend itself to theism; for the Incarnation could then be interpreted as the embodiment of an idea or of a principle sent by God as if from outside the cosmos, as a word is spoken by one apart from the subject who receives it.

a participle with its masculine article: *ho On*, "the Being," or "the Existing." This is the name that God pronounces for himself to Moses in *Exodus* 3.14 in the Greek *Septuagint*, translated for the Hellenized Jews between the third and first centuries before Christ. God speaks from the "burning bush," itself a prefiguration of the human nature in the Incarnation, aflame with the divine without being consumed. At the same time, the name refers directly to the existent principle permeating and vivifying the cosmos, that was known to the pre-Christian Greek world. The icon communicates that this immanent principle has become Incarnate uniquely in Jesus Christ.

Both Saint Athanasios of Alexandria and Saint John the Evangelist and Theologian communicate the same in writing with reference to the Logos, as we have just read. And both then explain that this immanent principle is personal, not as impersonal force as conceived by the philosophers. So, iconography through the symbols of painting communicates the same dynamics as does theology through the symbols of writing. The divine incarnate in Jesus Christ is the divine immanent in nature.

Literature.

"God and nature are one in the same thing," says Dostoyevsky through a character named Mary.⁶ A humble innocent crushed by her sufferings, she utters this in the presence of an important abbess. Mary interjects suddenly, emphatically, without the slightest qualification, so that the abbess who tends toward theism and moral legalism, balks. The wise woman flounders foolishly when the simple fool states bluntly, without the slightest qualification, the full breadth and implication of panentheistic divine immanence.

The fecund beauty of earth especially reveals the sacred to Shatov, another of Dostoyevsky's insightful characters in the same novel, who exclaims: "Kiss the earth, drench it with your tears, ask forgiveness."⁷

Folk Tradition.

Dostoyevsky's character's exhortation corresponds to a folk tradi-

⁶ Fyodor Dostoyevsky, *The Possessed*. Penguin Classics (London, 1971), p. 154.

⁷ Ibid. p. 261.

tion. As recorded in Russia,⁸ a peasant woman makes obeisance to the earth to atone. A moment earlier she made peace with the members of her family, and then with "the fair sun, the clear moon, the numberless stars, the dark nights, the soft showers, the raging wind."⁹ Now, she atones to the earth: Why?—because she must cut the earth with a plow to bring forth food to sustain her life. So, she brings her forehead to the earth; and sighing, she prays:

One further blow, my foster-mother,
I wish to touch you with my head,
To beg your blessings,
Your blessing and your pardon.
I have torn up your breast
Cutting with the iron ploughshare.
Never have I smoothed your face,
Never have I combed your locks;
I have bruised you under the harrow
With its teeth of rusty iron.
Foster-mother, pardon me,
In the name of Christ our Savior,
Of the Holy Mother of God,
Of Blaise our intercessor,
Elias the wise, the prophet,
And the knightly George.

Her act is lucid. She does not confuse the divine energy immanent in the earth with the specific incarnation in Christ; nor yet does she confuse Christ with any of the saints, all of whom she invokes integrally. She is in lucid communion with the divine in nature.

Yet while perceiving the divine in the very earth, this Orthodox Russian peasant in the North is also aware of a tragic disharmony, for her subsistence derives from her cutting that divine beauty when she plows. So, she atones. Similarly, the Orthodox Yup'ik hunter in Alaska perceives the divine in the animals on whom his subsistence depends. And he atones. He restores harmony with the animals by honouring them: respectfully keeping the bones of a land animal, respectfully keeping some inner part of a sea mammal, then returning

⁸ Pierre Pascal, *The Religion of the Russian People* (London, 1976), p. 12.

⁹ *Ibid.*

these in due season to the land or to the sea with thanksgiving, and with supplication that these animals come again as guests to this home.

The Orthodox Greek shepherd in Arkadia takes a lamb away from the sheepfold to slaughter to feed his family. The mother ewe, distressed by the separation, perhaps also by an intuition, is frantic, she butts, she bleats. And the shepherd sighs deeply: for in these harsh mountains, his small flock is part of his household; and in these harsh mountains, he too has known the death of offspring. The shepherd and his flock suffer alike. But on this day, the lamb has been cut in preparation for the feast of Pascha (Easter) when it will become an image of Christ the Lamb. In the middle of that coming night, the Orthodox shepherd (like the Orthodox hunter, like the Orthodox peasant) will hold a candle in the darkness, and will sing: "Christ is risen from the dead, trampling down death by death." Then during the day of feast, while the lamb is being roasted on the open fire, the shepherd will dance in celebration of the Crucified and resurrected Savior who suffers with us to give life and who will restore life to all.

Among Orthodox folk in traditional Romania, early this century, Mircea Eliade similarly observes that "central motif" of Pascha, that: "All Nature sighs, awaiting the Resurrection." And he recognizes this motif as central in "the religious folklore of Eastern Christianity."¹⁰

Yet how can these folk—Russian, Yup'ik, Greek, Romanian—understand nature as sighing and suffering and, at the same time, perceive nature as divine? We may find the answer where we began, in theology expressed by Saint Athanasios who explained that the divine Logos immanent in nature is the divine Logos incarnated in Jesus Christ. Once we see the divine Logos suffering for us in Jesus Christ, we may also see the divine Logos suffering for us in nature, sighing with us even there, vulnerable to us even there, indeed communicating the divine to us even there in nature.

These people are living the theology of panentheism: the panentheism that is expressed in their folk traditions, in literature, in iconography, and in theology alike.

* * * * *

¹⁰Mircea Eliade, "Survivals and Camouflages of Myths," in *Symbolism, the Sacred, and the Arts*, ed. Diane Apostolos-Cappadona (New York, 1988), p. 38.

Difference from Naive Pantheism.

So vital and vivid is this expression in folk traditions that a question might arise, and indeed it should arise, about the principles inherent in these cultures that keep them from tending, instead, toward a naive pantheism. Two such principles are readily evident.

To begin with, cosmic disharmony is not necessarily conceived as deriving from the divine. Rain may turn to hail, rivers may flood, waters shimmering with beauty may suddenly swell: yet the Logos is always represented as life-giving, never deadly; always rational, never irrational, not even whimsical. Neither is the disharmonious conceived as resulting from the act of creation, but instead from a marring of the cosmos by the subsequent fall.¹¹

Secondly, there is the demonic which is not imputed to the divine Logos either. Instead, Christ expels the demonic. We can see this represented in icons of the Epiphany where Christ stands in the waters of the Jordan River. Ashore, John the Baptist attends to him; on the opposite shore, a company of angels are ready to receive him: the human with the angelic around him. On both sides, the earth rises from the shores stylistically as if reaching upward in an ecstasy of prayer. Christ looks out from the icon peacefully and blesses us; while beneath his feet is the demonic (represented by keys of locks, or a humanoid, or a dragon), rendered small, relatively insignificant, crushed underfoot. We can hear the same theme in Alaskan folklore. The major tale among the Orthodox Dena'ina tells of holy water, the bible, and church incense expelling a deadly evil spirit-person which intruded into the village.¹² A folktale among the Orthodox Alutiiq tells of an icon and church incense warding off evil spirits in the mountains.¹³ This recurrent theme in Alaskan folklore is recurrent also in the Gospels and in patristic writings, and constitutes one of the principles in Eastern Orthodox cultures that differentiates the dynamics of their pantheism from naive pantheism.

¹¹For a contrast between two major theologies of the fall, and for an exposition of some of the differing affects that these different theologies had on social history in Alaska, see Mousalimas "Contrasting Theological Outlooks on Ancient Kodiak Culture," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 34 (1989) 365-78.

¹²Maxim Chickalusion, Sr., 1982. *The Kustatan Bear Story: Qezdeghnen Ggagga* (Fairbanks, 1982).

¹³John F. C. Johnson, *Chugach Legends* (Anchorage, 1984), p. 12.

Animism?

But while different from pantheism, is it different from animism? The question can be approached with further reference to the last principle: the divine Logos Incarnate is understood as expelling the demonic from wherever the enimical might have taken a hold—from a river, a tree, a mountain, a cliff, a rock, a cave, a dwelling, even in some instances an animal or a human person; and that natural phenomenon is understood, then, as abiding more fully in the divine, without obstruction or with less obstruction. Moreover, an angel or a saint is often perceived there now: and it is precisely this perception that will take us into the question about animism.

Allow me to develop the question by describing a personal experience I had within one of these cultures before coming to this conference. I was on the island of Lesbos in the Aegean where, in anticipation before the conference, I was remembering some history: that people were traveling from these regions to the Far North regularly by the tenth century, specifically from Constantinople as far north as Karelia; that the Kievan Rus' had already become Orthodox by then; and that the Varagians, the proto-Scandinavians, who were associated with Kiev and Constantinople had become Orthodox, too.¹⁴ Once while I was walking through an olive grove, under the silvery-green leaves that were shimmering in the light, among the dark gnarled tree trunks, I came across a little whitewashed chapel, such as abound throughout Greece. It was built into a slight hillside. Inside there were only two icons in the humble iconostasis: rather than carved in the forms of vines, leaves, and birds, as are many rural iconostases, this one was simply whitewashed like the humble walls. The two icons it held were so very old, frayed, and faded, that I had to look closely to see the figures of Christ on one, and of Mary the Mother of God on the other. Yet each was still kept carefully. In front of each hung a new oil lamp, kept tended and lit by nearby villagers. In front of each of these icons stood a polished candle stand. Saying prayers, I lit candles, then noticed that within a niche in the wall at floor level to my right, there was a pool of water fed by a very tiny stream that came in from the hillside. Yet another oil lamp hung above the pool within the niche, as did a small icon of Saint Paraskeve,

¹⁴Dimitri Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth* (New York, 1971), pp. 60, 362.

to whom obviously the well was sacred, and this chapel was named. I knelt. The stone had been worn by many generations who had done the same. I annointed my face, my head with the water, praying to the holy saint of God at her sacred well, then drank from this sweetness. Standing, I made the sign of the cross over myself, bowed to the saint at the icon at the well, then turned to the iconostasis to venerate again the icons there. Am I an animist?

Is it animism when the principles in nature derive from, and participate in, the single source of divinity; when the cosmos is panentheistic?

The term "animism" was coined by a Victorian E. B. Tylor at time when the theology of panentheism was probably unknown in his circle. The term may need to be extricated from that deist's hold.

Conclusion.

Greek Orthodoxy maintains the complementary realities of divine transcendence and divine immanence. The divine is perceived in nature.

When approaching this faith in the Far North, one may therefore anticipate a certain affinity with the ancient hunter and pastoral cultures, inasmuch as they also emphasized the immediate participation of the divine in nature.

Rather than a displacement, the model of change may be of a continuity and reorientation within a unity of cosmos; or as expressed by Dr. Lydia Black with specific reference to the Aleuts, an "overlap" where "basic assumptions" are "recoded in the new symbolic vehicles."¹⁵ Indeed, a model of this type may assist in understanding the remarkable indigenization of Eastern Orthodoxy among so many Far Northern peoples: people who say "this faith is ours."

¹⁵Lydia T. Black, "The Nature of Evil: of Whales and Sea Otters," in *Indians, Animals, and the Fur Trade*, ed. Shepard Krech III (GA, 1981), p. 133.

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Reviews

Θεοδώρου Β' Λασκάρεως περὶ Χριστιανικῆς Θεολογίας Α' Λόγοι
Analekta Vlatadon, no. 49. Christos Th. Krikonis. Thessalonike:
Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies, 1988. Pp. 229.

Theodore II Laskaris was one of the ablest and most literate but tragic rulers of the late medieval Greek World. He lived between 1222-1258 and ruled as Emperor of the Empire of Nicaea, which was created following the sack of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade and the establishment of Latin rule there, for four years (1254-1258). He was a successful military and political leader and his social policies and reforms were highly praised because they benefited the common people. He died prematurely as a result of a severe illness.

Like some of his predecessors (Justinian, Leo VI) Theodore was well trained in theology but unlike them he had received an excellent education in ancient Greek literature, mathematics, astronomy, and especially philosophy which prepared him to present a more profound theology as his essays in the present volume reveal.

This is an excellent and useful contribution to Byzantine studies in general and theology in particular. It is for the first time that Theodore's theological essays are critically edited and analysed by a competent scholar.

In the first part of the book, Dr. Krikonis analyzes the spiritual and intellectual quests of Theodore, i.e., his mathematical interests, philosophical concerns, and religious questions and problem. As a product of Greek learning, which flourished in Nicaea under major thinkers of the period (Exapterigos, Blemmydes, Pachymeris, Akropolites), Theodore became one of those who enhanced the Hellenic identity of the "Byzantines," and renewed appreciation



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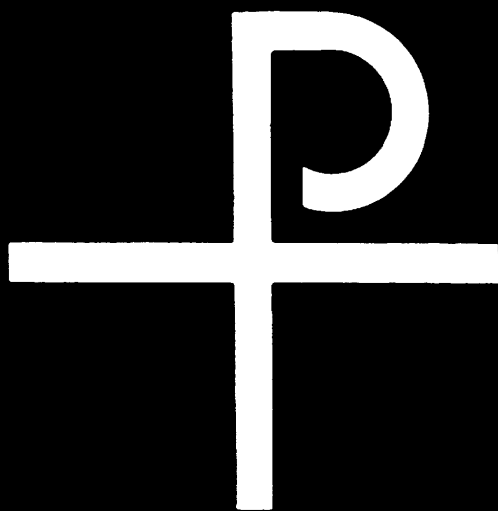
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**The
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Review**



**Volume 35
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Archbishop of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese and Exarch of the Ecumenical Patriarchate

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**The Sacrament of Order in the
Sacramental Structure of the Church
with Particular Reference to the Importance of
Apostolic Succession for the Sanctification and
Unity of the People of God**

**JOINT INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION FOR THE
THEOLOGICAL DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE ROMAN
CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE ORTHODOX CHURCH**

INTRODUCTION

1. HAVING EXPRESSED OUR IDEA OF THE MYSTERY OF THE CHURCH as a communion of faith and sacraments, preeminently manifested in the eucharistic celebration, our commission now addresses the crucial question of the place and role of ordained ministry in the sacramental structure of the Church. We will deal, then, with the sacrament of order as well as with ordination to each of the three degrees of episcopate, presbyterate, and diaconate. We rely on the certitude that in our Churches apostolic succession is fundamental for the sanctification and the unity of the people of God.

2. Our Churches affirm that ministry in the Church makes actual that of Christ himself. In the New Testament writings, Christ is called apostle, prophet, pastor, servant, deacon, doctor, priest, *episkopos*. Our common tradition recognizes the close link between the work of Christ and that of the Holy Spirit.

3. This understanding prevents us seeing in the economy Christ in isolation from the Spirit. The actual presence of Christ in his Church is also of an eschatological nature, since the Spirit constitutes the earnest of the perfect realization of God's design for the world.

4. In this perspective, the Church appears as the community of the New Covenant which Christ, through the Holy Spirit, gathers about himself and builds up as his Body. Through the Church, Christ is present in history; through it he achieves the salvation of the world.

5. Since Christ is present in the Church, it is his ministry that is carried out in it. The ministry in the Church therefore does not substitute for the ministry of Christ. It has its source in him. There is no Church without the ministries created by the Spirit; there is no ministry without the Church, that is to say, outside and above the community. Ministries find their meaning and ground for existence only in it. Since the Spirit sent by Christ gives life to the Church, ministry is only fruitful by the grace of the Spirit. In fact, it includes many functions which the members of the community carry out according to the diversity of the gifts they receive as members of the Body of Christ. Certain among them receive through ordination and exercise the function proper to the episcopate, to the presbyterate, and to the diaconate.

CHRIST AND THE HOLY SPIRIT

6. The Spirit, which eternally proceeds from the Father and reposes in the Son, prepared the Christ event and achieved it. The incarnation of the Son of God, his death and his resurrection, were accomplished in fact according to the will of the Father, in the Holy Spirit. At Christ's baptism, the Father, through the manifestation of the Spirit, inaugurates the mission of the Son. This Spirit is present in his ministry: the announcing of the Good News of salvation, the manifesting of the coming of the Kingdom, the bearing witness to the Father. Likewise, it is in the same Spirit that, as the unique priest of the New Covenant, Christ offers the sacrifice of his own life, and it is through the Spirit that he is glorified.

7. Since Pentecost, in the Church which is Christ's Body, it is in the Spirit alone that those who are charged with ministry can carry out the acts which bring the Body to its full stature. In the ministry of Christ as in that of the Church, it is the one and the same Spirit which is at work and which will act with us all the days of our life.

8. In the Church, ministry should be lived in holiness, with a view towards the sanctification of the people of God. So that the whole Church and especially its ordained ministers might be able to contribute to "the perfecting of the saints for the work of ministry for building up the body of Christ," different services are made possi-

ble by many charisms (Eph 4.11-12; cf. 1 Cor 12.4-28; Rom 12.4-8).

9. The newness of the Church's ministry consists in this: Christ, servant of God for humanity, is present through the Spirit, in the Church, his Body, from which he cannot be separated. For he himself is "the first-born amongst many brothers." It is according to this sacramental way that one must understand the work of Christ in history from Pentecost to the Parousia. The ministry of the Church as such is sacramental.

10. For this reason, Christ's presence in the Church is also eschatological. Wherever the Spirit is at work, he actually reveals to the world the presence of the Kingdom in creation. Here is where ecclesial ministry is rooted.

11. This ecclesial ministry is by nature sacramental. The word "sacramental" is meant to emphasize here that every ministry is bound to the eschatological reality of the Kingdom. The grace of the Holy Spirit, earnest of the world to come, has its source in the death and resurrection of Christ and is offered, in a sacramental manner, by means of sensible realities. The word "sacramental" likewise shows that the minister is a member of the community whom the Spirit invests with proper functions and power to assemble it and to preside in the name of Christ over the acts in which it celebrates the mysteries of salvation. This view of the sacramentality of ministry is rooted in the fact that Christ is made present in the Church by the Spirit whom he himself has sent to the Church.

12. This nature of ecclesial ministry is further shown in the fact that all ministries are intended to serve the world so as to lead it to its true goal, the Kingdom of God. It is by constituting the eschatological community as the Body of Christ that the ministry of the Church answers the needs of the world.

13. The community gathered in the Spirit around Christ exercising his ministry for the world has its foundation in Christ, who is himself the cornerstone, and in the community of the Twelve. The apostolic character of the Churches and their ministry is understood in this light.

14. On the one hand, the Twelve are witnesses of the historic life of Jesus, of his ministry, and of his resurrection. On the other, as associated with the glorified Christ, they link each community with the community of the last days. Thus the ecclesial ministry will be called apostolic because it is carried out in continuity and in fidelity to what was given by Christ and handed on in history by the apostles.

But it will also be apostolic because the eucharistic assembly at which the minister presides is an anticipation of the final community with Christ. Through this double relationship, the Church's ministry remains constantly bound to that of the Twelve, and so to that of Christ.

THE PRIESTHOOD IN THE DIVINE ECONOMY OF SALVATION

15. The entire divine economy of salvation culminates in the incarnation of the Son, in his teaching, his passion, his glorious resurrection, his ascension and his second coming. Christ acts in the Holy Spirit. Thus, once and for all, there is laid the foundation for re-establishing the communion of man with God.

16. According to the epistle to the Hebrews, Christ by his death has become the one mediator of the New Covenant (Heb 9.15) and having entered once for all into the Holy Place with his own blood (Heb 9.12), he is forever in heaven the one and eternal High Priest of this New Covenant, "so as to appear now in the presence of God on our behalf" (Heb 9.24) to offer his sacrifice (Heb 10.12).

17. Invisibly present in the Church through the Holy Spirit, whom he has sent, Christ then is its unique High Priest. In him, priest and victim, all together, pastors and faithful, form a "chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people he claims as his own" (1 Pt 2.9; cf. Rv 5.10).

18. All members of the Church, as members of the Body of Christ, participate in this priesthood, called to become "a living sacrifice holy and acceptable to God" (Rom 12.1; cf. 1 Pt 2.5). To make himself present, Christ has established as head of the Church apostles chosen among the people, whom he endowed with authority and power by strengthening them through the grace of the Holy Spirit. The work and mission of the apostles are continued in the Church by the bishops with the priests and deacons who assist them. By ordination, the bishops are established successors of the apostles and direct the people along the ways of salvation.

19. Grouped around the glorified Lord, the Twelve give witness to the presence of the Kingdom already inaugurated and which will be fully manifested at the Second Coming. Christ has indeed promised them that they would sit on twelve thrones, judging with the Son of Man the twelve tribes of Israel (Mt 19.28).

20. As historic witnesses of what the Lord accomplished, the ministry of the Twelve is unique and irreplaceable. What they laid down was founded therefore once for all, and no one in the future

could build except on the foundation thus established (Eph 2.20; Rv 21.14).

21. But the apostles remain at the same time the foundations of the Church as it endures through the ages, in such a way that the mission they receive from the Lord always remains visible and active, in expectation of the Lord's return (cf. Mt 18.18 and, earlier, 16.19).

22. This is why the Church, in which God's grace is at work, is itself the sacrament *par excellence*, the anticipated manifestation of the final realities, the foretaste of God's Kingdom, of the glory of the God and Father, of the *eschaton* in history.

23. Within this sacrament which is the Church, the priesthood conferred by ordination finds its place, being given for this Church. In fact, it constitutes is the Church a charismatic ministry (*leitourgēma*) *par excellence*. It is at the service of the Church's life and continued existence by the Holy Spirit, that is to say, of the unity in Christ, of all the faithful living and dead, of the martyrs, the saints, the just of the Old Testament.

3.THE MINISTRY OF THE BISHOP, PRESBYTER AND DEACON

24. In the celebration of the eucharist, the entire assembly each according to his or her status, is "liturge" of the *koinonia*, and is so only through the Spirit. "... there are varieties of ministries, but the same Lord (. . .). To each is given the manifestation of the Spirit for the common good" (1 Cor 12.5, 7). The various ministries converge in the eucharistic synaxis, during which they are conferred. However, their diversity is ordered to the entire life of the community: fidelity to the Word of God, abiding in harmony and fraternal charity, witness before "those outside," growth in holiness, constancy in prayer, care for the poorest.

25. Since it culminates in the celebration of the Eucharist in which Christian initiation is completed, through which all become one Body of Christ, the ministry of the bishop is, among all the charisms and ministries which the Spirit raises up, a ministry of presiding for gathering in unity. In fact, bearing the variety of gifts of the Spirit, the local Church has at its center the bishop, whose communion realizes the unity of all and expresses the fullness of the Church.

26. This unity of the local Church is inseparable from the universal communion of the Churches. It is essential for a Church to be in communion with the others. This communion is expressed and

realized in and through the episcopal college. By his ordination, the bishop is made minister of a Church which he represents in the universal communion.

27. Episcopal ordination, which, according to the canons, is conferred by at least two or three bishops, expresses the communion of the Churches with that of the person selected: it makes him a member of the communion of bishops. In the ordination the bishops exercise their function as witnesses to the communion in the apostolic faith and sacramental life not only with respect to him whom they ordain, but also with respect to the Church of which he will be bishop. What is fundamental for the incorporation of the newly elected person in the episcopal communion is that it is accomplished by the glorified Lord in the power of the Holy Spirit at the moment of the imposition of hands.

Here we are only considering ordination under its sacramental aspect. The problems raised by the manner of electing a bishop will be studied later.

28. Episcopal ordination confers on the one who receives it by the gift of the Spirit, the fullness of the priesthood. During the ordination the concelebration of the bishops expresses the unity of the Church and its identity with the apostolic community. They lay hands and invoke the Holy Spirit on the one who will be ordained as the only ones qualified to confer on him the episcopal ministry. They do it, however, within the setting of the prayer of the community.

29. Through his ordination, the bishop receives all the powers necessary for fulfilling his function. The canonical conditions for the exercise of his function and the installation of the bishop in the local Church will be further discussed by the Commission.

30. The gift conferred consecrates the recipient once for all to the service of the Church. This is a point of the traditional doctrine in East and West, which is confirmed by the fact that in the event of disciplinary sanctions against a bishop followed by canonical reintegration, there is no re-ordination. On this subject, as on all the essential points concerning ordination, our Churches have a common doctrine and practice, even if on certain canonical and disciplinary requirements, such as celibacy, customs can be different because of pastoral and spiritual reasons.

31. But ecclesial ministry is exercised through a variety of functions. These are exercised in interdependence; none could replace another. This is especially true of the fundamental ministries of the

bishop, the presbyter and the deacon, and of the functions of the laity, all of which together give structure to the eucharistic community.

32. Throughout the entire history of our Churches, women have played a fundamental role, as witnessed not only by the most Holy Mother of God, but also by the holy women mentioned in the New Testament, by the numerous women saints whom we venerate, as well as by so many other women who up to the present day have served the Church in many ways. Their particular charisms are very important for the building up of the Body of Christ. But our Churches remain faithful to the historical and theological tradition according to which they ordain only men to the priestly ministry.

33. Just as the apostles gathered together the first communities, by proclaiming Christ, by celebrating the eucharist, by leading the baptised towards growing communion with Christ and with each other, so the bishop, established by the same Spirit, continues to preach the same Gospel, to preside at the same eucharist, to serve the unity and sanctification of the same community. He is thus the icon of Christ the servant among his brethren.

34. Because it is at the eucharist that the Church manifests its fullness, it is equally in the presiding at the eucharist that the role of the bishop and of the priest appears in its full light.

35. In the eucharistic celebration, in fact, believers offer themselves with Christ as a royal priesthood. They do so thanks to the ministerial action which makes present in their midst Christ himself who proclaims the Word, makes the bread and the cup become through the Spirit his Body and Blood, incorporating them in himself, giving them his life. Moreover, the prayer and the offering of the people incorporated in Christ are, so to speak, recapitulated in the thanksgiving prayer of the bishop and his offering of the gifts.

36. The eucharist thus realizes the unity of the Christian community. It also manifests the unity of all the Churches which truly celebrate it and further still the unity, across the centuries, of all the Churches with the apostolic community from the beginnings up to the present day. Transcending history, it reunites in the Spirit the great assembly of the apostles, of martyrs, of witnesses of all periods gathered around the Lamb. Indeed, as the central act of episcopal ministry it makes clearly present the world to come: the Church gathered in communion, offering itself to the Father, through the Son, in the Holy Spirit.

37. He who presides at the eucharist is responsible for preserving

communion in fidelity to the teaching of the apostles and for guiding it in the new life. He is its servant and pastor. The bishop is also the guide of the entire liturgical life of his local Church and, following his example, this Church becomes a community of prayer. He presides at its praise and at its intercession, and he himself prays unceasingly for all those entrusted to him by the Lord, knowing that he is responsible for each one before the tribunal of God.

38. It also rests with him to see to it that there be given to his people, by preaching and catechesis, the authentic content of the Word of God given to the apostles "once for all." He is in fact the primary one responsible for the preaching of the Word of God in his diocese.

39. To him also belongs the task of leading this people towards proclaiming to all human beings salvation in Jesus Christ, and towards a witness which embodies that proclamation. Therefore, it is for him to govern his Church in such a way that it always remains faithful to its Christian vocation and to the mission deriving therefrom. In all this, however, he remains a member of the Church called to holiness and dependent on the salvific ministry of this Church, as Saint Augustine reminds his community: "For you I am a bishop, with you I am a Christian." At his ordination the bishop makes his own the faith of the whole Church by solemnly confessing it and thus becomes father to the extent that he has fully become its son by this confession. It is essential for the bishop to be the father of his people.

40. As successor of the apostles, bishops are responsible for communion in the apostolic faith and fidelity to the demands of a life lived according to the Gospel.

41. It is in presiding over the eucharistic assembly that the role of the bishop finds its accomplishment. The presbyters form the college grouped around him during that celebration. They exercise the responsibilities the bishop entrusts to them by celebrating the sacraments, teaching the Word of God and governing the community, in profound and continuous communion with him. The deacon, for his part, is attached to the service of the bishop and the priest and is a link between them and the assembly of the faithful.

42. The priest, ordained by the bishop and dependent upon him, is sent to fulfil certain definite tasks; above all he is sent to a parish community to be its pastor: he presides at the eucharist at the altar (consecrated by the bishop), he is minister of the sacraments for the community, he preaches the Gospel and catechizes; it is his duty to keep in unity the charisms of the people (*laos*) of God; he appears

as the ordinary minister of the local eucharistic community, and the diocese is thus a communion of eucharistic communities.

43. The diaconate is exercised at the service of the bishop and the priest, in the liturgy, in the work of evangelization and in the service of charity.

4.APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION

44. The same unique ministry of Christ and his apostles remains in action in history. This action is, through the Spirit, a break-through to "the world to come," in fidelity to what the apostles transmitted about what Jesus did and taught.

45. The importance of this succession comes also from the fact that the apostolic tradition concerns the community and not only an isolated individual, the ordained bishop. Apostolic succession is transmitted through local Churches ("in each city," according to the expression of Eusebios of Caesarea: "by reason of their common heritage of doctrine," according to Tertullian in the *De Praescriptione*, 32, 6). It is a matter of a succession of persons in the community, because the *Una Sancta* is a communion of local Churches and not of isolated individuals. It is within this mystery of *koinonia* that the episcopate appears as the central point of the apostolic succession.

46. According to what we have already said in the *Munich Document*, "apostolic succession, therefore, means something more than a mere transmission of powers. It is succession in a Church which witnesses to the apostolic faith, in communion with the other Churches, witnesses of the same apostolic faith. The 'see' (*cathedra*) plays an important role in inserting the bishop into the heart of ecclesial apostolicity" (*Munich Document*), II, 4). More precisely, the term "cathedra" is used here in the sense of the presence of the bishop in each local Church.

47. "On the other hand, once ordained, the bishop becomes in his Church the guarantor of apostolicity, the one who represents it within the *communion* of Churches, its link with the other Churches. That is why in his Church every eucharist can only be celebrated *in truth* if presided over by him or by a presbyter *in communion* with him. Mention of him in the anaphora is essential" (*ibid.*).

48. "Attachment to the apostolic communion joins together all the bishops, maintaining the *episkope* of the local Churches, to the college of the apostles" (*ibid.*, III, 4). The bishops are thus rooted in the 'once for all' of the apostolic group through which the Holy

Spirit gives witness to the faith. Indeed, as the foundation of the Church, the Twelve are unique. Even so, it was necessary that other men should make visible their irreplaceable presence. In this way the link of each community would be maintained with both the original community and the eschatological community.

49. Through his ordination each bishop becomes successor of the apostles, whatever may be the Church over which he presides or the prerogatives (πρεσβεΐα) of this Church among the other Churches.

50. Incorporated into the number of those to whom the particular responsibility for the ministry of salvation has been entrusted, and so placed in the succession of the apostles, the bishop ought to pass on their teaching as well as model his whole life on them. Irenaeus of Lyons puts it thus: "It is where the charisms of God have been planted that we should be instructed in the truth, that is among those in whom are united succession in the Church from the apostles, unassailable integrity of conduct and incorruptible purity of doctrine" (*Against Heresies*. 4, 26, 5). Among the essential functions of the bishop is that of being in his Church through the Spirit a witness and guarantor of the faith and an instrument for maintaining it in apostolic fidelity. Apostolic succession is also a succession in the labours and sufferings of the apostles for the service of the Gospel and in the defense of the people entrusted to each bishop. According to the words of the first letter of Saint Peter, the apostolic succession is also a succession in the presence of mercy and understanding, of defense of the weak, of constant attention to those entrusted to their charge, with the bishop thus being a model for the flock (cf. 1 Pt 5.1-4; 2 Cor 4.12; Tt 2.7).

51. Furthermore it belongs to the episcopal ministry to articulate and organize the life of the Church with its service and offices. It is his task also to watch over the choice of those who are to carry out responsibilities in his diocese. Fraternal communion requires that all the members, ministers or lay people, listen to each other for the good of the people of God.

52. In the course of its history, the Church in East and West has known various forms of practicing communion among bishops: by exchange of letters, by visits of one Church to another, but principally by synodal or conciliar life. From the first centuries a distinction and a hierarchy was established between Churches of earlier foundation and Churches of more recent foundation, between mother and daughter Churches, between Churches of larger cities and Churches

of outlying areas. This hierarchy of *taxis* soon found its canonical expression, formulated by the councils, especially in the canons received by all the Churches of the East and West. These are, in the first place, canons 6 and 7 of the 1st Council of Nicea (325), canon 3 of the 1st Council of Constantinople (2nd Ecumenical Council, 381), canon 28 of Chalcedon (4th ecumenical Council, 451), as well as canons 3, 4 and 5 of Sardica (343) and canon 1 of the Council of Saint Sophia (879-880). Even if these canons have not always been interpreted in the same way in the East and in the West, they belong to the heritage of the Church. They assigned to bishops occupying certain metropolitan or major sees a place and prerogatives recognized in the organization of the synodal life of the Church. Thus was formed the pentarchy: Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, even if in the course of history there appeared apart from the pentarchy of other archbishops, metropolitans, primates and patriarchs.

53. The synodal character of episcopal activity showed itself especially in questions under discussion which interested several local Churches or the Churches as a whole. Thus in each region different types of synods or local and regional councils and conferences of bishops were organized. Their forms could change according to different places and times, but their guiding principle is to manifest and make efficacious the life of the Church by joint episcopal action, under the presidency of the one whom they recognized as the first among them. In fact, according to canon 34 of the apostolic canons belonging to the canonical tradition of our Churches, the first among the bishops only takes a decision in agreement with the other bishops and the latter take no important decision without the agreement of the first.

54. In ecumenical councils, convened in the Holy Spirit at times of crisis, bishops of the Church, with supreme authority, decided together about the faith and issued canons to affirm the Tradition of the apostles in historic circumstances which directly threatened the faith, unity and sanctifying work of the whole people of God, and put at risk the very existence of the Church and its fidelity to its Founder, Jesus Christ.

55. It is in this perspective of communion among local Churches that the question could be addressed of primacy in the Church in general and, in particular, the primacy of the bishop of Rome, a question which constitutes a serious divergence among us and which will be discussed in the future.

Uusi Valamo (Finland), June 26, 1988

Book Notes

Vasil T. Istavrides

Center for the History of the Demos of Thessalonike. 'Επιστημονικό Συμπόσιο, Χριστιανική Θεσσαλονίκη, Παλαιολόγειος 'Εποχή, Πατριαρχικόν Ίδρυμα Πατερικών Μελετών — 'Ιερά Μονή Βλατάδων, 29-31 'Οκτωβρίου 1987, 'Αριθμός 3 [Academic Symposium of Christian Thessalonike, Palaiologian Period, Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies, Holy Monastery of Vlatadon, 29-31 October 1987, Number 3]. Thessalonike: Center for the History of the Demos of Thessalonike, 1987. Pp. 358.

Saint Demetrios (280-306 A.D.) is the patron saint of Thessalonike. Beginning with the Byzantine period, the day of his death, October 26, formed the nucleus around which many ecclesiastical and cultural celebrations took place in the same city. These festivities formed the so-called Demetria. In 1987, the city asked the Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies and the Monastery of Vlatades to hold an annual symposium dedicated to Christian Thessalonike.

In addition to addresses, the volume contains the following studies: Apostolos E. Vakalopoulos, "General Considerations on the Palaiologean Epoch," pp. 41-51; Athanasios E. Karathanassis, "The Correspondence of Demetrios Kydones with Manuel Palaiologos, 1382-1387," pp. 65-86; Theodore N. Zissis, "The Theological Work of Neilos Kavasilas, Archbishop of Thessalonike," pp. 89-109; P. E. Paschos, "Mathaios Vlastares and the Fathers of the Seventh Ecumenical Council," pp. 111-27; Antonios Papadopoulos, "Engomia to St. Demetrios during the Palaiologean Epoch and the Celebrations Related to the Saint in Thessalonike," pp. 129-45; Ioannis Foundoulis, "Liturgical Particularities in Thessalonike in the Beginning of the Fourteenth Century," pp. 149-63; Gregorios Th. Stathis, "The Dif-

ferentiations in Psalmody according to Codex EBE.2548, Year 1336," pp. 165-212; George Kapsanis, "Worship on Mount Athos," pp. 213-21; Pandeileimon Rodopoulos, "The Syntagma of Mathaios Vlastares and its Influence on the Slavic World," pp. 225-35; Constantine A. Vavouskos, "The Real Law in the Exabiblos of Armenopoulos," pp. 237-58; and George Nakos, "Problems of the Law of Inheritance. The (26) Neara of Andronikos II Palaiologos," pp. 259-337.

Center for the History of the Demos of Thessalonike. 'Επιστημονικό Συμπόσιο, Χριστιανική Θεσσαλονίκη, 'Απο τοῦ 'Αποστόλου Παύλου μέχρι καί τῆς Κωνσταντινείου 'Εποχῆς, 'Ιερά Μονή Βλατάδων, 31 'Οκτωβρίου-2 Νοεμβρίου 1988 [Academic Symposium of Christian Thessalonike, from Saint Paul to the Constantinian Period, Holy Monastery of Vlatadon, 31 October-2 November 1988, Number 4] Thessalonike: Center for the History of the Demos of Thessalonike, 1990. Pp. 194, illustrations.

The academic symposia related to Christian Thessalonike have become a tradition for this great Christian city. The second symposium was dedicated to the historical study of Christian Thessalonike during the first four centuries A.D. Three of the speakers are biblical scholars, while the rest are specialists in areas of church history, patristics, church and state law, and Christian arts.

The presentations are in four categories:

1. Theology, pp. 41-78. Ionnes Karavidopoulos, "The Two Apostolic Letters of St. Paul to Thessalonians. The Beginnings of Christian Literature" pp. 43-57; Ioannis Galanis, "Theological Character of the Personal Encounter of St. Paul with the Church of Thessalonike," pp. 59-67; and Petros Vasileiadis, "The Contribution of St. Paul's Christian Teachings to the Reform of Greco-Roman Society," pp. 69-78.

2. History, pp. 79-116. Panayiotis Chrestou, "Activities of the Christian Youth of Thessalonike during the Period of Persecutions," pp. 81-89; "Evangelos Chryssos, "The Massacre of Thessalonians in 390," pp. 91-105; and Athanasios Angelopoulos, "Christian Thessalonike as 'Proistamene' of the Eastern Illyricum," pp. 107-16.

3. Law, pp. 117-54. Constantine Vavouskos, "The Church in the Reign of Theodosios and Justinian," pp. 119-27; and Constantine G. Pitsakis, "The Two Apostolic Letters of Saint Paul in the Documents of the Oriental Canon Law," pp. 129-54.

4. Arts, pp. 155-94. George Gounaris, "The Discoveries of the Recent Excavations Sponsored by the University of Thessalonike in Phillippi," pp. 157-67; and Evterpi Marki, "The Tomb Decorations of the First Christian Years in Thessalonike," pp. 169-94.

Pavlos Menevissoglou (of Sweden). *Ιστορική Εισαγωγή εις τούς Κανόνας της Ὁρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας* [Historical Introduction to the Canons of the Orthodox Church]. Stockholm: Metropolis of Sweden and all Scandinavia, 1990. Pp. 653.

The author, a well-known student of canon law, divides his book into five parts: 1) Introduction; 2) the Canons of the Apostles; 3) the Canons of the Ecumenical Synods; 4) the Canons of the Local Synods; and 5) the Canons of the Church Fathers.

George D. Charamantas, *Ἡ Νῆσος Κάλυμνος τῆς Δωδεκανήσου, Συμβολή στήν Ἐπισκοπική-Ἱστορική Ἐκφρασή της* [The Island of Kalymnos of the Dodecanese: A Contribution to its Ecclesiastical and Historical Expression]. Athens: Omvros, 1989. Pp. 261.

Mr. Charamantas, an instructor in the First Gymnasium of Kalymnos, is the author of twenty-five studies related to the island of Kalymnos. The present work, however, is the first ecclesiastical history of the island.

Contents: "A General Survey of the History of the Island" (pp. 35-60); "The Appearance of Christianity and its Episcopal Organization" (pp. 61-82); "Church and Monastic Centers, Church Functionaries and Contemporary Ecclesiastical History of the Island."

The author makes ample use of published and unpublished material, archaeological evidence, and his personal experiences.

Papas, Athanasios (of Helenopolis) *Ζωγράφοι καί Ἀγογράφοι τοῦ Δεκάτου Ἐνάτου καί Εἰκοστοῦ Αἰῶνα* [Constantinopolitan Secular and Religious Painters, XIX and XX Centuries]. Athens: Domos, 1989. Pp. 269, 137 paintings/illustrations.

Dr. Athanasios Papas (metropolitan of Helenopolis, Ecumenical Patriarchate) is the author of many writings. He began collecting material and publishing individual biographies of painters who date since 1870. He estimates that about 215 painters worked during this time and presents 155 of them in this book.

Demetrios Constantelos, *Βυζαντινή Φιλανθρωπία και Κοινωνική Πρόνοια* [*Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare*]. Athens: Phos Publications, 1986. Pp. 411.

This is a Greek translation (revised and augmented) of the author's *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare*, published by Rutgers University Press. In his revision the author has taken into account the fifty-two reviews of his book.

The book is divided as follows: "Introduction," pp. 7-30; "Part 1 — Philanthropia in the Thought-World of Byzantium," pp. 31-100; "Part 2 — Application and Agencies of Philanthropy," pp. 101-210; "Part 3 — Philanthropic Institutions," pp. 211-345; and "Part 4 — Conclusions, Bibliography, Indices," pp. 347-411.

The author presents philanthropia as an element of Byzantine religious, moral, and social philosophy and as a means of its expression in everyday life, particularly up to the twelfth century. However, it is possible to say that the chronological range is extended to include the entire history of the Byzantine state from the fourth to the fifteenth centuries.

Athanasios Delikostopoulos, *Ἐξω ἀπὸ τὰ Τείχη, Ἀθηναγόρας Α΄ ὁ Οἰκουμενικός Πατριάρχης* [*Outside the Walls: Athenagoras I the Ecumenical Patriarch*]. Athens: n.p., 1988. Pp. 301.

Dr. Athanasios J. Delikostopoulos, formerly a professor of apologetics and the encyclopedia of theology, School of Theology, University of Athens 1971-75, enters into the field of church history and particular biography with this book. He uses primary and secondary material, published and unpublished, the archives, and his personal experiences.

He writes with great admiration and respect for the work and the achievements of the late Patriarch Athenagoras. However, despite Athenagoras' opening new avenues for reconciliation between Orthodox and other Christian churches and communions, the author seems to be critical of those Orthodox who participate in the World Council of Churches and the theological dialogue with Rome.

Laurence Cross, *Eastern Christianity, The Byzantine Tradition*. Sydney-Philadelphia: E.J. Dwyer, 1988. Pp. 117. Maps, icons, illustrations.

The author, of Roman Catholic faith, was born in Australia where

he lives and continues to teach.

In his book all the important aspects of life as an Orthodox Christian are covered: history, approaches to belief, the sacraments, style of worship, the customs of family, and the main features of artistic and spiritual life.

Contents: "Introduction," pp. 1-4; "Historical Outlines," pp. 5-24; "The Byzantine Theological View," pp. 25-54; "The Sacramental Mysteries," pp. 55-68; "Tradition in Life," pp. 69-94; and "Eastern Christianity, Today and Tomorrow," pp. 95-106.

Andreas J. Phytrakes (ed.), *Πυζάρειος Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Παιδεία* [Rizareios Ecclesiastical Education], Volume 4. Athens: n.p. 1988. Pp. 408, 12 photographs.

Contents: "Prolegomena," pp. 3-4; "Rizareios Ecclesiastical School and Education": pp. 31-256; Andreas Phytrakes, "Modern Orthodox Training in Our Country and its Problems," pp. 33-138; Chrysostomos Themelis (of Messenia), "The Pedagogical Ideas of Constantine Oikonomos," pp. 139-89; George of Nicaea, "The Present-Day State of Clergy," pp. 191-201; Christodoulos of Demetrias, "Proposals for the Improvement of Ecclesiastical Education," pp. 203-10; Vlassios Pheidas, "The Reform of Ecclesiastical Education," pp. 211-22; Spyridon Troianos, "Religious Education as an Expression of Religious Freedom," pp. 223-34; Stylianos K. Siomopoulos, "A Contribution to the Study of the Points Related to the Establishment of the Rizareios Ecclesiastical School," pp. 235-56; Panayiotis K. Chrestou, "The Renaissance (Rebirth) of the Greek Paideia during the Years of Captivity," pp. 259-69; Ioannis O. Kalogerou, "Honoring the Saints," pp. 271-304; Ioannis Kornarakis, "A Concise Outline of Practical Problematics Related to the Performance of the Sacrament of Repentance," pp. 305-13; P. B. Paschos, pp. 315-26; Demetrios Nikou, "The Duty of the Priest Towards the Prisoners," pp. 327-39; and Chronicle, pp. 341-404.

Antonios Papadopoulos, *The Witness and Service of Orthodoxy in the Present*. Volume 2. Thessalonike: Kyriakides Brothers Publishers, 1989. Pp. 230.

The present work, offered as a university textbook, appeared originally under the title: "The Position of the Church of Greece on Matters of Pan-Orthodox Interest," Thessalonike, 1975.

Generally speaking, the book deals with matters having an inter- or pan-Orthodox and inter-Christian character. In particular, the following topics are treated: relations between the Orthodox Churches; the calendar-paschalion; relations between the Orthodox and other Christian churches; the Orthodox diaspora, especially in America; the question of the Russian church; the second marriage of the clergy; the Bulgarian schism; monastic life; education of the clergy; marriage and divorce; and uniformity of rite.

George Lemopoulos (ed.). *Your Will Be Done, Orthodoxy in Mission. The Commission on World Mission and Evangelism (CWME), Consultation of Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox Churches. Neapolis, Greece. April 16-24, 1988.* Geneva: WCC Publications; Katerini: Tertios, 1989. Pp. 267.

The present volume contains the report of the work accomplished by the consultation of Eastern and Oriental Orthodox Churches on Orthodoxy in Mission held in Neapolis (Thessalonike), Greece, April 24-28, 1988, and hosted by the Greek Orthodox Metropolis of Neapolis and Stavroupolis.

The main parts of the book are as follows: "Orthodox Mission: Past, Present, Future," pp. 61-92; "Witnessing to the Gospel Today," pp. 93-147; "Theological Considerations," pp. 149-71; and "Orthodox Mission Perspectives," pp. 173-228.

George Tsetsis. *The Ecumenical Throne and the Ecumene: Official Patriarchal Documents.* Katerini: Tertios, 1989. Pp. 146.

This is a valuable collection of documents assembled by the great Protopresbyter George Tsetsis who has represented the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Geneva since 1965.

After a very illuminating Introduction by the author and valuable Prolegomena by Metropolitan Chrysostomos of Myra, another veteran of ecumenical affairs, we are presented with the texts of patriarchal documents 1 through 9, dated 1962-1988. Each document is preceded by an introduction and followed by a concise bibliography.

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of their ancient Greek heritage. "Hellene," "Hellenismos" are no longer used as synonyms for paganism but "In order to define the *paideia* (culture), civilization, and the ethnic character" of the people. The Latin rule in Constantinople and the creation of Latin principalities and feudal states in the Greek world contributed to the growth of an Orthodox Christian *phronema* (mind) and the value of the Greek tradition (pp. 15-18).

The second and larger part of the book is devoted to eight of Theodore's theological essays. Seven of them are being published for the first time. The author devotes considerable space to an account of the manuscript tradition, including the state of the codices, Theodore's method and language, and related questions. The content of the eight essays can be summarized in four propositions: The Unity of the Being, the Trinity of the Being, the Incarnation of the Triad's second person, and the procession of the Triad's third person. In his exposition of his theology Theodore reveals his background in philosophy (in his works, including epistles, he cites Homer, the Pythagoreans, Plato, Aristotle, and Neo-Platonists) and his debt to Church Fathers, Dionysios the Areopagite in particular. The last section of the book presents the text of Theodore's eight theological essays found in five codices.

The present book should be of interest not only to Byzantinists and Eastern Orthodox theologians but also to Western medievalists and Western Christian theologians. Those who have difficulties with classical Greek unable to appreciate fully Theodore's original essays, will find Dr. Krikonis's theological and philosophical analysis most illuminating (pp. 56-81).

Demetrios J. Constantelos
Stockton State College

New Library: Reviews and Discussions of Over Fifty Books of Modern Greek, American, Russian and Other Writers Pertaining to Philosophy — Ancient, Byzantine and Modern Greek — Eastern Orthodox Christianity, Byzantine Art, and Hellenism. Volume 1. By Constantine Cavarnos. Belmont, Massachusetts: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 1989. Pp. x, 176. Cloth \$10.95. Soft \$7.95.

The Hellenic-Christian Philosophical Tradition: Four Lectures Dealing with Philosophy in the Greek East from Antiquity to Modern Times,

with Special Reference to Plato, Aristotle, Stoicism, and the Greek Church Fathers. By Constantine Cavarinos. With an Introduction by Stephen D. Salamone. Belmont, Massachusetts: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 1989. Pp. viii, 127. Cloth \$10.95. Soft \$7.95.

Anyone familiar with the more than four decades of publishing activity by Dr. Constantine P. Cavarinos, erstwhile professor of philosophy and longtime president of the Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, knows that his work has ranged over the entire continuum of the Hellenic tradition from antiquity to the present, with special emphasis on the Greek Orthodox tradition. The volume entitled *New Library* is the first in a proposed series of three volumes, named after the ninth century work of Saint Photios the Great called *Bibliothēkē* (*Library*). The first volume contains reviews and discussions of fifty-two books written between 1948 and 1988. The particular focus, in the words of the compiler, has been "to giving as far as possible a series of significant glimpses of the long Hellenic philosophico-religious tradition, beginning with the Classical, pre-Christian period, continuing with the Byzantine, Christian era, and ending with the post-Byzantine or modern centuries" (p. v). All but seven reviews have previously been published in journals, books or the Boston weekly newspaper *The Hellenic Chronicle*. More than giving us an idea of what books are in Dr. Cavarinos's personal library, this series will give the reader a very good notion of the vast influence of the Hellenic/Orthodox tradition from antiquity to the present.

In addition to an alphabetical listing of authors whose books are reviewed in *New Library* and indexes of proper names and subjects, there is a brief preface which stresses that the series intends to make those reviews and discussions easily accessible to scholars and the reading public. The seven sections of the book center on 1) Ancient Greek Philosophers; 2) Byzantium, Its Philosophy, Theology, And Art; 3) Modern Greek Philosophers; 4) Modern Greek Religious Writers; 5) Russian Writers; 6) Hellenic Communities in Greece and Abroad; and 7) Modern Greece. Reviews of Russian writers' books of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are included "because their thought has much in common with that of the modern Greek writers whose books are discussed, both being rooted, to a greater or lesser extent, in the Orthodox Christian tradition that has been bequeathed by Byzantium" (p. v).

New Library can provide much continuous fascinating reading and valuable information. It can also be used as a handy reference book. We look forward to the other two volumes.

The Hellenic-Christian Philosophical Tradition originally constituted four lectures presented at Boston University under the sponsorship of the Department of Classical Studies and the Program of Modern Greek Studies, the first three during the Spring of 1987 and "Aristotle's Legacy in the Hellenic East" in the Spring of 1988. The series was originally called "The Hellenic Philosophical Continuum" since the lectures were to focus on "the fact that there has been in the Hellenic East an uninterrupted stream of philosophical thought from antiquity to the present — a stream in which all the vital elements of the earlier stages of philosophy were retained, organically assimilated, refined, and enriched by that of later periods" (p.v.) Dr. Stephen Salamone is right in his Introduction that Dr. Cavarnos is one of very few professionals in the academic world who can focus on the *essence* of Hellenism because he has studied Greek philosophy and culture from an *integrated standpoint*. Salamone calls Cavarnos's approach *essentialist* with "real potential for achieving a truly diachronic understanding of human nature and the evolution of human culture beyond the limitations of Western ethnocentrism" (p. 10). Salamone credits Cavarnos with generating "an anthropology that seeks to reestablish Greece at the center of contemporary humanist studies" (p.9).

There is no doubt that *The Hellenic-Christian Philosophical Tradition* is a ground-breaking book that should have a profound impact upon how we look at the relation of Greek philosophy to Eastern Christianity. So much has been written of the impact and relation of Greek philosophy to Western culture and religion but very little the other way around. Cavarnos's book sets for us briefly, concisely, and authoritatively the means for understanding "Plato's Legacy in the Hellenic East"; "Aristotle's Legacy in the Hellenic East"; "Stoic Elements in the Greek Church Fathers"; and "The Concept of Philosophy in the Hellenic Tradition" (the four titles of the four lectures which constitute the heart of this elegantly written book).

Plato is shown to have significantly contributed to Christianity through his distinction of the sensible and the intelligible realm; God as Demiourgos; his view of the human soul; the four general virtues (wisdom, courage, temperance, and justice); the unity of the virtue; and the beautiful.

Aristotle's legacy is discussed in terms of the distinction between matter and form, the notion of immaterial being, the conception of God, his ten categories (substance, quantity, quality, relation, place, time, position, state, action, and passion), his theory of moral excellence or virtue, virtues being qualities acquired through choices and deliberate actions, guided by *reason* and experience. The role of reason in the moral life is stressed by the Church Fathers and practice and habituation are stated in Patristic writings as necessary for the acquisition of moral virtues. Cavarinos shows that not all of Aristotle was acceptable to the Church Fathers, but that they did use certain features of his philosophy to promote moral development.

In the case of Stoic philosophy, Cavarinos discusses 1) the governing principle of the human soul; 2) preconceptions; 3) examining the fantasies; 4) assent and refusal of assent; 5) relations; 6) tranquility; and freedom from passions. After giving us a review of the nature of Stoicism and comparison with terms and doctrines in the Greek Church Fathers, Dr. Cavarinos concludes that 1) The Church Fathers had no use for Stoic pantheism, for the Stoic view of Nature as the body of God and the human soul as part of God, destined to lose its individuality, its personal character after death or for Stoic fatalism and belief in the periodic destruction and reconstitution of the universe; 2) the Church Fathers did adopt a number of Stoic terms; 3) Stoic and Christian doctrines denoted by most of these terms had certain similarities but also important differences; and 5) the Greek Fathers were very selective in their use of terms and ideas from Stoicism.

Probably the most important and best Chapter in Cavarinos's book is "The Concept of Philosophy in the Hellenic Tradition." It is a masterpiece of precision. In dealing with philosophy in Pre-Christian times the author beautifully shows how philosophy was viewed as 1) love of wisdom; 2) *meletē thanatou* (meditation/practice on death); 3) self-examination and cross examination; 4) dialectic; 5) the way of the best life; and 6) as organized knowledge in general (Aristotle), plus four others described as 7) theoretical philosophy; 8) practical philosophy; 9) "first philosophy," theology metaphysics and 10) physical philosophy. In the Christian period we find the distinction between 1) external and 2) internal philosophy; 3) Orthodox teaching as philosophy; 4) lived Christian teaching as philosophy; 5) the practices of inner attention and inner

quiet as philosophy; and 6) the monastic way of life as philosophy.

The Hellenistic-Christian Philosophical Tradition is an absolutely essential book for every serious student of the Hellenic tradition and of Orthodox Christianity but, as Dr. Stephen Salamone has declared in his Introduction (p. 4), it is a work "which focuses on the *essence* of Hellenism, offers Greek and Western scholars an unparalleled opportunity and a challenge — that is, to rethink both sides of the relationship between Eastern and Western interpretations of the Hellenic Tradition" (*Ibid.*) It is a book that demonstrates the historic relationship between philosophy and religion and the necessity for looking at Greek religion and spirituality in its own terms, culturally and linguistically. Cavarinos's *Hellenic-Christian Philosophical Tradition* helps us enormously to understand the similarities and the difference of a common heritage.

John E. Rexine
Colgate University

Faith & Wealth: A History of Early Christian Ideas on the Origin, Significance, and Use of Money. By Justo L. Gonzalez. San Francisco: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1990. Pp. 240. \$19.95.

The study of the patristic sources for the Church's social teaching is a field that is only gradually developing in the modern world. This volume on the Fathers and New Testament teaching on economics is a welcome contribution to the literature. The fact that it is written by an ecumenically sensitive scholar in a style and format that make easy reading should be a stimulus to wider understanding of the patristic teaching in this field.

The book is divided into four parts: the background in Greek, Roman, and Jewish institutions and cultures; the period before Constantine in the Scriptures and the first two centuries; the period from Constantine to Chrysostom and Augustine; and finally a retrospective. The retrospective gives not only the author's conclusions, but also his method of approach. He carefully documents the continuity of the patristic teaching with the New Testament material and influences from pre-Christian or non-Christian culture. He also points out differences of points of view within the Church and between Church teachers and the culture at large. In this, of course, he carefully

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The Lives of the Saints as Sources for Byzantine Agrarian Life in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries

HARRY J. MAGOULIAS

BYZANTINE AGRARIAN LIFE WAS DISTINGUISHED BY TWO POSSIBILITIES of landowning: side by side with the great landowner on whose estates hired hands were put to work, or whose lands were worked in return for rent, there was always the small independent farmer. We shall see in the sources cited in this paper the difficult time the small farmer had in making ends meet, and how, as a result, he was continuously pressured and oppressed by both the great landowner — who might even be represented by the Church — and the Byzantine official who not only collected taxes for the State, but whose own individual wealth lay in the accumulation and possession of landed properties.

Often the small independent farmer could barely eke out an existence for himself and family. A certain John and his wife from the village of Arnea in Lycia came to visit Saint Nicholas Sionites at his monastery of Holy Sion.¹ They were desperate, and falling on their knees, they pleaded with the saint in the following terms:

We have been living on our farm for twenty years, and the seed sown in the field produces twenty five large modii of grain, but we have never reaped more than twenty five modii. We have come to venerate God, and Holy Sion and your Holiness that you may beseech God

¹ *The Life of Saint Nicholas of Sion*, text and translation by Ihor Ševčenko and Nancy Patterson Ševčenko (Brookline, 1984), p. 93.

on our humble behalf, that through your holy prayers we may receive mercy; for we have become destitute and are deprived of income and wasting away from hunger. Residing and working on our land, we are perishing and possess nothing on which to live.

Saint Nicholas heard the petition and was moved; for two hours he stood upright and prayed to God on their behalf. When he had finished he turned to the distraught couple and said: "Go, and whatever the Lord wishes will happen." The following year they sowed the field with the usual amount of seed, but when harvest time rolled around, they reaped one hundred and twenty-five large modii of grain.

The problem of the indigent farmer in realizing the full potential productivity of his land is again brought out in the following story told about an aged monk of the laura of Choziba.² Before coming to the laura, this man spent his time doing good deeds in his home town. Whenever he saw a farmer who, because of penury, was unable to sow his field, the saintly man would take his own oxen and seed, and in the middle of the night, without the knowledge of the destitute farmer, he would sow his field.

John Moschos tells the pertinent story of the aged monk, John the Eunuch, who lived in the monastery of the Ennaton in Alexandria.³ One day a farmer came to the saintly and compassionate monk and asked him for a gold nomisma.⁴ The monk, possessing no money of his own, borrowed a nomisma from the monastery treasury, and gave it to the farmer. "I will return it to you in a month," promised the peasant. Two years passed and still the farmer was unable to pay back his debt. Finally, John the Eunuch summoned the farmer and said: "Give me the nomisma, brother." Then the monk proposed that the farmer work off his debt. "When you have time, and have no other work to do, come and make thirty prostrations, and I will give you credit for one keration." When the destitute farmer would come to work off his debt in this remarkable way, the compassionate monk would feed him and then give him five hard biscuits

² *Pratum Spirituale*, PG 87.2869.

³ PG 87.3056-57.

⁴ The nomisma or solidus was a gold coin and there were seventy-two nomismata to a pound of gold; twenty-four keratia or twelve silver miliaresia to a nomisma; a semissis was worth one half a nomisma, and tremissis was valued at one third; finally there were approximately 180 copper folles to the nomisma.

called *paxamas* to take home. When the farmer had paid his debt John handed over to him his promissory note, and dismissed him with his blessings. The fact that this poor farmer had to resort to the monastery for financial assistance points to the increasing wealth of the monastery as well as to the destitution of the small farmer.

Natural disasters and plagues were the farmer's two archenemies, and in their wake they left the struggling farmer impoverished. The *Vita* of Saint Theodore of Sykeon provides us with our best source for the nature of these disasters. Frequently heavy hailstorms in the vicinity of the village of Skoudris in Galatia resulted in floodwaters which rushed down the hillsides into the village destroying in their path houses and crops.⁵ One year the rains fell so heavily, and the resulting floods were so devastating that half the homes, beasts, men, women, children and infants in their cribs were carried away to the Sagaris River. The survivors called upon Saint Theodore of Sykeon for help; the saint came to their village, prayed and set up a cross, and from that day on, all floods ceased. For many years hailstorms at harvest time would destroy the crops of the village of Apoukoumis.⁶ Saint Theodore again set up a cross, and thereafter the villagers were spared further loss of crops. In appreciation they donated a vineyard to Saint Theodore's monastery.

Byzantine farmers were also well aware of the dangers of soil erosion. Concerned over the fact that the Siveris River, which flowed through the fields near the village of Sykeon, was eroding much of the productive soil of the farm land, the villagers called upon Saint Theodore whose miraculous intervention altered the river's course and saved the land.⁷

There were other dangers to the farmer's crops besides floods and hailstorms. In an age when chemistry had not yet produced effective insecticides, the Byzantine peasant used prayer almost as effectively. When a plague of locusts, like a black cloud, enveloped the vineyards and cornlands of the village of Mazamias, located on the Siberis River in the territory of Mnezine, the villagers came to Saint

⁵ *Saint Theodore of Sykeon*, in *Μνημεῖα Ἀγιολογικά*, ed. Theophilos Ioannou (Venice, 1884), pp. 487-88; see also the English translation of the greater part of Saint Theodore's *Vita* in Elizabeth Dawes and Norman H. Baynes, *Three Byzantine Saints* (Oxford, 1948), p. 179 (summary).

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 181.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 121.

Theodore, fell at his feet and begged him to help them.⁸ The holy man accompanied them back to their homes, and as was his custom, spent the night in the village church of Saint Eirenikos. The next morning, Saint Theodore led a procession to the plain, and standing in prayer, he held three locusts in his hand; and as he prayed the locusts died. When they had returned to the church, the divine liturgy was celebrated, and the next day all the locusts were found dead. The three villages near Eukraai in Galatia, Buna, Peai, and Hynia, were invaded by swarms of dung beetles which swept down upon their fields and destroyed their crops.⁹ Elsewhere we read that the vines of the village of Sandos were devoured by a plague of locusts and those of Permeteia were being consumed by worms.¹⁰ But once again, Saint Theodore came to the rescue; after prayer, the pests were smitten dead and lay about in heaps.

Six miles outside the metropolis of Pessinos in Galatia secunda a small farmer owned a vegetable garden which was being destroyed by locusts.¹¹ When the farmer heard that Saint Theodore was in the neighbourhood he ran a distance of three miles to find the saint and beg for his assistance. Saint Theodore ordered him to fetch a pot of water; when he had done so the holy man blessed the water and said: "Go and sprinkle the four corners of your garden with this and the Lord will fulfill your desire." The locusts soon vanished, and in appreciation the farmer offered Saint Theodore an arm-full of vegetables.

Byzantine peasants considered their saints capable of providing panaceas for all types of problems, no matter how mundane. The saints are called upon to tame the insubmissiveness of oxen¹² and mules,¹³ and even find water through miraculous means when needed.¹⁴

From the *Vitae* of the Saints we learn that at harvest time, peasants would travel many miles to work as farm hands in the fields. We read in John of Ephesos' account of the lives of Symeon and Sergios that

⁸ Ibid. p. 113.

⁹ Ibid. p. 167.

¹⁰ Ibid. pp. 164-65.

¹¹ Ibid. pp. 154-55.

¹² Ibid. p. 153.

¹³ Ibid. p. 449.

¹⁴ Sevckenko and Sevckenko, pp. 41-47.

"... men from the territory of the city of Amida were going down for the harvest (because men are in the habit of going down to the southern country for the harvest) . . ."¹⁵ In the *Pratum* we see that landowners paid their hired help wages. Sometimes, however, they were hard and demanding. A farm hand tells this story about himself: "For twenty-two years, excepting Saturdays and Sundays, I have not eaten before sundown. I am a hired hand on the estate of an unjust and avaricious wealthy man; and I have been with him for fifteen years working day and night, and he cannot bear to give me a salary, but every year he mistreats me no little."¹⁶

Monks also worked for wages alongside common laborers. John Moschos tells the story of David, a monk from the monastery of Skete.¹⁷ It was the practice of the monks from this Egyptian monastery to go to an estate and help harvest the crops for a daily wage. David was hired by one of the landowners. One day it became so stifling hot at high noon that the old monk went to a hut to sit down and rest. When the farmer saw this he became infuriated and asked: "Why are you not harvesting, old monk? Do you not realize that I am paying you a wage?" David replied: "Yes, but because it is so hot and the grains of wheat are falling from their stalks I thought it best to wait a bit for the burning heat to pass so that you might suffer no loss." The landowner hotly retorted: "Get up and work even if they all burn up." And forthwith the fields were set ablaze, and the flames were not extinguished until all the other working monks, at the frantic pleas of the hapless landowner, besought David to put out the fire.

Elsewhere we read in the *Pratum* that in the village of Gonagon, some forty miles from Apamea, a group of boys tended the flocks while their parents worked on an estate for landowners.¹⁸

Boundary disputes between landowners were often so violent that they led to bloodshed. Patriarch Nikephoros in his *Short History* relates that a certain wealthy official, Bizoulinos by name, disputing with his widowed neighbor over the boundaries of their contiguous

¹⁵"John of Ephesos, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*," Syriac text ed. and tr. E. W. Brooks, *Patrologia Orientalis* 17 (Paris, 1923), 17.109.

¹⁶*Pratum Spirituale* PG 87.3021-23.

¹⁷*Ibid.* 3053-55.

¹⁸*Ibid.* 3044-45.

properties, ordered his slaves to attack the widow's household.¹⁹ In the ensuing battle, one of the widow's sons was clubbed to death.

It was the Byzantine official, however, who was a great landowner as well, who exercised extremely oppressive measures against the peasant population and aroused their fury and indignation. In the village of Armenia quarta there was a certain magistrate "who was an abominable and impious man, an oppressor of the poor, and one who caused orphans and widows to groan, and a perpetrator of all wicked deeds of covetousness and of injustice and rapine."²⁰ The victims would flee to Saint Maro seeking refuge with him in his monastery. Admonishing the official for his callousness Maro said: "Neither yet think that this power of the saints before whom these poor people come and groan is an empty thing; let it be roused against you, and you and your house will perish." The magistrate, however, unimpressed, answered in derision saying: "Blessed man, sit on your stone, and mind your own business." That very night a meteorite struck the magistrate's house and the ensuing conflagration destroyed it together with all surrounding buildings. Within days both the official and his wife were dead. Of the vineyards and fields "thick with their trees and their fruits, . . . some sank to the ground in two years, and the rest were plundered . . ." The slaves who survived ran away.

The tremendous wealth of the Byzantine official and extortion used to acquire it are frequently emphasized in our sources. John of Ephesos tells us that the chorepiskopos Harfat of Anzetene in Armenia quarta, together with an older kinsman, inherited a huge estate for he "belonged to a distinguished, great and rich family."²¹ Harfat was distressed at the great number of male and female slaves, and hired servants and all the other luxuries that belonged to the estate. "Wherefore do I need all this parade," he would say to himself, "while debtors go on bringing interest and bonds continue to be exacted every day?" Aside from the estate Harfat and his relative had about 5000 denarii (nomismata) in cash; when his kinsman became Bishop of Arsamosata, Harfat distributed the money to the poor.

Snq, father of the monophysite Saint Thomas, and governor of

¹⁹*The London Manuscript of Nikephoros' Breviarium*, ed. L. Orosz (Budapest, 1948), pp. 18-19.

²⁰John of Ephesos, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, PG 17, 72-76.

²¹*Ibid.* p. 158-60.

a district in Armenia quarta, probably Balabitene, amassed a huge fortune "in gold and silver, and extensive lands and many slaves; while everything that he possessed was on a great scale, were it field or woods, or parks or high buildings of vast size. . . ." When Snq died and left Thomas heir to his great wealth, his son decided to make restitution for the evil perpetrated to acquire such a fortune. Thomas says of his father, the governor: "I know that he did great injustice." When he gave alms to the poor Thomas would admit: ". . . even this which we are giving comes from the blood of the souls of the poor and indigent, and of orphans and widows." What better indictment of the rapacious thievery of the official could we find than this? Finally, Thomas decided to sell his father's estates.

A very good picture of what an estate of a wealthy official was like given by John of Ephesos: ". . . in a short time he (Thomas) sold the great estate, not being deterred by the beauty of the buildings, nor the extensiveness of the courts that were scattered over these lands, nor the thickness of the many woods and of the parks with various kinds of fruit, nor the attractiveness of the irrigation and of the gardens and of the vines, and the circuit of long walls which formed a strong fence round the meadows and vines and fruit."²² Thomas, however, gave the magnates, whose lands bordered on his own, first chance to buy his land; he informed them that if they were not interested he would proceed to sell his landholdings to strangers. Thus, Thomas, a born aristocrat, felt himself obliged to offer his lands for sale first to his magnate neighbours. Important information pointing to the development of large estates and powerful landowning families in the sixth century is contained in this incident.

At times even the large landowner might find it difficult to deal with the government official, especially the tax-collector. In the *Vita* of Saint John the Compassionate we read that the lands of a certain landowner suffered crop failure because the Nile did not rise sufficiently to provide adequate irrigation.²³ The tax-collectors, unconcerned with nature's failure, pressed the landowner for his taxes.

²²Ibid. p. 284-89.

²³*Leontios' von Neapolis Leben des heiligen Iohannes des Barmherzigen Erzbischofs von Alexandrien*, ed. Heinrich Gelzer in *Sammlung Ausgewählter Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichtlicher Quellenschriften*, 5 (Freiburg and Leipzig, 1893), pp. 62-63; see also English translation by Elizabeth Dawes and Norman H. Baynes, "Saint John the Almsgiver," in *Three Byzantine Saints* (Oxford, 1948), pp. 241-43.

The harassed man turned to the dux, and asked for a loan of fifty pounds of gold; in return he offered to give collateral for double the value. The Dux promised to make the loan but kept delaying the actual payment. In the meantime the tax-collectors were unrelenting in their demands. Unable to wait any longer, the landowner went to Saint John the Compassionate and explained his sorry plight.

"If you like, my child, I will even give you the robe I am wearing," responded the Patriarch, and without a moment's hesitation he handed over the money requested. The landowner in question must have owned vast tracts of land if his taxes amounted to fifty pounds of gold. But just one crop failure was enough to make his position very difficult with the tax-collectors. Crop failure was no excuse for inability to pay one's taxes, even when the money to pay such taxes could come only from the sale of one's crops. It is a telling condemnation of the government's financial organization when no flexibility can be witnessed in the case of natural disasters.

The conflict between peasant and Byzantine official is again brought out by Saint Daniel of Skete who tells the story of Eulogios, a quarryman who lived on an estate in the Thebaid and found a cave filled with money.²⁴ Excited by the sight of this treasure-trove²⁵ he reasoned: "This money of the Israelites; what shall I do? If I take

²⁴"Vie et récits de l'abbé Daniel," ed. Leon Clugnet, *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* 5 (1900), p. 256-60.

²⁵"By treasure is meant an old deposit of money not recorded and therefore ownerless." Henry John Roby, *Roman Private Law* (1908), 1, p. 417. The law concerning treasure-trove is found in English translation in: S. P. Scott, *The Civil Law* (1932), 2, p. 40; Just. 2, 1 (39):

"The Divine Hadrian in compliance with the principles of natural justice, conceded to the finder any treasure which he found on his own land; and established the same rule where anyone accidentally discovered treasure in a sacred or religious place. But where anyone found treasure on the land of another not devoting himself to that purpose, but by accident, he conceded half of it to the owner of the land; and in accordance with the same principle, where anyone found something on the land of the Emperor, he decreed that half of it should belong to whoever found it, and the other half to the Emperor. Agreeably to this rule, if anyone finds treasure on land belonging to the Treasury, or in a public place, half of it belongs to him and half to the Treasury, or the city."

it to the estate, the Archon²⁶ will learn of it and I will be in danger. I had better take the money abroad where no one knows me." This incident of treasure-trove is particularly indicative of the friction and distrust between Byzantine high officials and the lower strata of society. Although entitled to one half of the treasure-trove Eulogios realized that not only would the provincial governor keep all the money for himself would also be in grave danger. The rapacious chicanery of the government official was no secret to the peasants and they knew that the law could not always protect them, especially in rural areas.

The possibility of treasure-trove could lead to civil disturbances among the peasants. A certain Timotheos from the village of Eukraai in Lagantine of Galatia, was falsely reported to have found treasure on the side of a hill bordering on his land.²⁷ Rioting broke out among the villagers, and the archon of the metropolis Ankyra, Euphrantes by name, sent his officers to arrest Timotheos. Some of the most unruly rioters were seized and flogged with bullwhips on their naked bodies. But the punishment which was meted out as a corrective failed of its purpose, and the rioters became more agitated; They massed and first rushed over to Timotheos' granaries which they proceeded to burn down. Timotheos, whom they considered the cause of their own trouble with the archon, they sought to kill, but he was lucky enough to escape.

Again, in the village of Sandos in the district of Protomeria, a certain householder and farmer whose name was Eutolmios was reported to have found treasure-trove.²⁸ When the villagers were informed that the Archon Euphrantas was preparing to take action against them because of Eutolmios' neglect to report his find, they became enraged against the man, and rushed out to burn him and his entire household for being the cause of their troubles. They were

²⁶The archon was the provincial governor. See: Allan Chester Johnson and Louis C. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies* (Princeton, 1949), p. 322, n. 7. In the sixth century Egypt was divided into four provinces: Augustamnica in the eastern Delta, Arcadia, named for Emperor Arcadius, in central Egypt, the Thebaid, the home of Eulogios, and Libya. A governor with both civil and military power stood at the head of each province. See: Edward Rochie Hardy, Jr., *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt* (New York, 1931), p. 18.

²⁷Ioannou, *Saint Theodore of Sykeon*, pp. 464-66; Dawes and Baynes, pp. 165-66.

²⁸Ibid. pp. 461-64 and pp. 162-64.

stopped, fortunately, by the more sane and composed elders of the community who sent for Saint Theodore to assist them. The holy man sent the archon a letter, and informed that no treasure had been uncovered, and that there was no reason for him to punish the villagers.

The power of the Byzantine official which he abused so often made him a much feared and despised figure. A certain Sergios of Alexandria was sixty years of age and by profession a watchman of a granary under the supervision of the Count Kaisarios who was nick-named the "Shark."²⁹ Even though in need of medical attention Sergios was afraid to leave his post for fear that he would immediately be dismissed by the Count and deprived of shelter and food since he was allowed to sleep in the granary.

The Byzantine Church was also a great landowner and as such the relations between Church and peasants were often no better than those between Byzantine official and the peasantry. The villages owned by the Church were a primary source of revenue but the problems involved in their financial administration were a constant source of irritation.³⁰

When Saint Theodore of Sykeon became the Bishop of Anastasioupolis³¹ he did not entrust the collection of church taxes to the *oikonomos* of his church, but he hired, by contract, a *protiktor*, i.e. an honorary imperial bodyguard enrolled in the Palace Corps,³² to administer and govern the church properties. The *protiktor* Theodosios, however, used his position to enrich his own coffers. He

²⁹*Miracula S. Artemii*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia graeca sacra* (St. Petersburg, 1909), mir. 16, pp. 16-17.

³⁰Ioannou, *Saint Theodore of Sykeon*, pp. 429-31.

³¹Anastasioupolis was the name given to Lagania or Regenagalia under Emperor Anastasios: W. M. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (London, 1890), p. 244.

³²Prokopios, *The Anecdota*, trans. Dewing (Cambridge, MA, 1935), pp. 287-89: "And there are also others in the Palace held in much higher esteem, for the Treasury is accustomed to allow them a higher wage on the ground that they on their part have paid larger amounts for the name of belonging to the service; these are called *Domestici* and *Protectores*, and from ancient times they have been unpractised in deeds of war. For it is only for the sake of rank and for the appearance of the position that they are wont to have themselves enrolled among the Palace corps. And from ancient times some of these have had their residence in Byzantium, some in *Galatia* and some in other places. . . ." See remarks by: Ernest Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* (Paris, Brussels, and Amsterdam, 1949), 2, pp. 428-29.

was so unjust and avaricious in his exactions that the defrauded peasantry came to Saint Theodore in tears. The bishop summoned Theodosios and soundly admonished him and ordered him to desist from his predatory acts of injustice against the villagers. The *protiktor* merely invented pretexts against the peasants and continued to fleece them. One day, however, as he was approaching the village of Eukraous in unrelenting pursuit of his money-hungry schemes, the villagers became so infuriated that they armed themselves with "weapons and swords and catapults," and taking their stand outside the village they threatened to kill Theodosios if he refused to turn back. The *protiktor* was intimidated, and fearing defeat he returned to Anastasioupolis to collect a greater force with which to crush the rebellious villagers. When Saint Theodore was informed of the peasant revolt against Theodosios, and realized that many lives could have been lost in a pitched battle, lives for which he felt personally responsible, he fell to the ground on his face and thanked God that the calamity was averted. The saint then proceeded to remove Theodosios from his position as administrator of the church-owned villages. It is fascinating to observe that Saint Theodore, by bypassing the cleric whose responsibility this was for a lay official, showed poor judgment.

Opposition between the Church and country folk was sometimes aroused when the Church attempted to erect buildings on village property. Three years after his ordination as Bishop of Pinara at the hands of Philp, the Archbishop of Myra in Lycia, Saint Nicholas of Sion had a vision of the "glorious and ever-virgin Mother of our Lord Jesus Christ" who pointed out to him the place and size of the church which she wished built and dedicated to her.³³ Saint Nicholas had the land surveyed, but the inhabitants of the area obstructed the erection of the church building until the bishop first paid for the land.

Just how vital the country was to the city is clearly demonstrated in the description of the plague which struck the metropolis of Myra.³⁴ With the first appearance of the bubonic plague in that city the farmers from the surrounding countryside refused to enter.

³³Ševčenko and Ševčenko, p. 103. Philip, Archbishop of Myra, was present at the Fifth Ecumenical Synod held in Constantinople in A. D. 553.

³⁴Ibid. pp. 81-82.

They were well-aware of the danger of contagion: "If we do not enter, we will not die from this disease." The inhabitants of the city were dying on the first day that they contracted the dreaded disease. Since the farmers refused to come into the city, the survivors were left without any supplies of food: "For neither wheat nor flour nor wine, nor wood, nor anything else for the survival of life was brought by the farmers to the city."

The ingenuous Byzantine peasantry, however, were especially beloved by the saints who praised their virtues in glowing terms. "How many country farmers," says Saint Symeon Salos, "have I seen in the city coming frequently to receive Communion, who were purer than gold because of their innocence and simpleness, and because they ate their bread by the sweat of their brow."³⁵ Yet these good and virtuous peasants, in addition to the calamities wrought by nature, were made to suffer the injustices of government official and Church alike.

³⁵*Vita S. Symeonis Sali*, in *ASS*, Iul. 1, 3a ed., pp. 145-46.

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All the above observations can be found in the Six Discourses translated here. Saint Isaak believes that the rational soul can approach God by ardent faith, by fear, and by correction from God (p. 101). He tells us that "without actually direct experience of God's providence, the heart is not able to confide in God. And unless the soul tastes suffering for the sake of Christ, it will not share in knowledge with him" (p. 87). He concludes the Sixth Discourse with words that can describe his advice for achieving the ultimate goal: "Joyfully begin every work which is for the sake of God. If you are pure of passions and of division of heart, God will bring to completion and he will help you and make you wise; according to his will, and in a marvelous way, he will bring you to perfection" (p. 116).

We must thank Saint Vladimir's Seminary Press for making available in English one of the classics of Christian spirituality.

John E. Rexine
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The Living God: A Catechism. Translated from the French by Olga Dunlop. Crestwood: Saint Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1989. Two vols. Pp. xvi + 445. Illustrated. Paper, \$24.95.

It is the happy task of book reviewers to say good things about good books as they come along and to present such books to an interested public. This happy task is complicated, however, at the very point where it should bring the greatest joy to the reviewer, namely, when he is presented with an outstanding volume that merits lavish praise. The temptation is to be gushy. Good taste counsels restraint. The reviewer must tread a slippery path somewhere between polite applause, on the one side, and the roar of the crowd on the other. The present review is the fruit of such a tension.

The Living God: A Catechism is the product of collaborative effort on the part of the Orthodox Fraternity of Western Europe. Primarily, it is the work of French catechists who see its purpose "not so much to be a manual of lessons which are to be learned, as it is to transmit a message of life, the Word of the Living God" (p. xv). As Oliver Clement says at the beginning of his Preface, "What is most significant about this catechism, or rather this major catechetical work, is without any question, its essential *ecclesial* nature" (p. ix). It is this

grounding in the living Church of Christ in all its myriad facets which accounts for the success of the author's aim.

The Living God has a structure that is one of the chief merits of the book. Let us take a few moments to examine some of its features. First the book is organized in parts according to the life of Christ and the major Feasts of the Church which correspond to it. Thus, Part One concerns the Nativity of the Lord; Part Two, the Baptism; Part Three, the Transfiguration; Part Four, the teaching of Christ; Part Five, the Cross and the Resurrection; Part Six, Ascension and Pentecost; and Part Seven, the Second Coming and the life in the world to come. There follows an Appendix entitled "Initiation into Prayer," which presents the most common prayers of the Church, brief comments on them, and an extended commentary on the Lord's Prayer.

Part of the method of the book is "to study each one of the great stages of the life of the Lord Jesus, from his conception up until his second coming in glory, by examining them and explaining them through the events of the Old Covenant that prepared, announced, prefigured, and gave them their entire meaning" (p. xv). Thus, each part of the book contains sections and even whole chapters devoted to explaining the Old Testament in Orthodox Christian terms. Part One on the Nativity, for example, has three chapters entitled "The Image of God: Creation, Fall, Restoration," "From Despair to Hope: Job," and "The New Adam: the Incarnation." The first two chapters are straightforward exegeses of Genesis and Job while the third cites quite a number of scriptural texts which illumine the nativity of Christ. In an age of *Geschichten*, it is refreshing to find a book which unapologetically lays out the meaning of the Scriptures *as Scripture*, in Christian, even Orthodox, terms. When was the last time you read a book in which the story of Job is presented as a messianic text? And yet the Church so interprets it. *The Living God* is worth its price for its approach to Old Testament exegesis alone. But there is more.

As part of its ecclesial organization, the book periodically introduces icons and the hymnody of the Church into the fabric of each part. To remain with the example of Part One, the third chapter presents icons of the Annunciation, the Virgin of the Sign, and the Nativity of our Lord, each with commentary. In addition, the text and the music for the Troparion of the Annunciation, the Cantic of the Theotokos, and the Troparion and Kontakion for the Nativity are given. All in all, twenty musical examples are provided and

nineteen icons, nine of them in color. In this way, the neophyte is systematically introduced to two of the most prominent aspects of Orthodox worship: icons and hymnody, and they are introduced to them contextually.

What the authors have done is to weave together a number of the strands of Orthodox tradition into a coherent presentation: a exposition of the Word of God that is Christocentric, liturgical, scriptural, iconographic, and hymnodic.

Moreover, the text is punctuated by a series of "Seeker and Sage Dialogues." These dialogues sometimes take place at an often-disputed point of Christian teaching. So in Part One we find dialogues on creation *ex nihilo*, on the creation-evolution question, and on the historicity of Adam and Eve. At other times, they offer a refreshing break from the strict exposition of the text by introducing a question and answer approach to the material. As Clement remarks, the dialogues "make us think more of an adolescent or of an adult who has come from atheism to faith" (p. xiii-xiv). Some of the dialogues are quite good; others are not so satisfying. Those that fail to satisfy fail for one of two reasons: either they are simplistic, or they allow the question to dictate the answer and thereby fall into the very categories of thought they strive to overcome. Happily, these lapses are rare; unfortunately, they occur in response to serious questions. For example, the Sage denies without hesitation the historicity of the first chapters of Genesis. While this is a non-question for many Christians, it is still legitimate to ask whether the Orthodox are prepared uncritically to accept this position and all the intellectual baggage that goes along with it, as many of us have done. Apply the same principles, say, to the Entrance of the Theotokos into the Temple and the problems quickly become apparent. Again, it is fortunate that these lapses are rare; they constitute the only serious problem which the present reviewer finds with the book.

There are two other merits of *The Living God* which we might relate. The first is the ease with which this book can be used, as is, for catechetical instruction. The book is ready-made for a series of classes beginning in the fall and ending by early summer. It is therefore ideal not only for an enquirer's class or for adult instruction, but also as a Sunday school text for high school students or young adults.

In addition, the book is clearly Christocentric in its orientation. That is to say, the authors — and by extension all catechists — strive

to be sure that people who come to the Orthodox Church do so because they seek Christ. It is misleading and spiritually dangerous to convert people to the Orthodox Church without converting them to Christ. Further, the prominence given to Scripture is helpful not only to those people who come to the Church from Protestant backgrounds and who know only the Scriptures, but also to those Orthodox Christians whose knowledge of the Scriptures is all too often lacking.

The second merit is reaped by those of us who study or teach theology: *The Living God* points toward an Orthodox paradigm for the work of theology. That is to say, it overcomes, or simply ignores, the Western distinction, so unhealthy to Orthodox theology, between faith and reason, to which those of us born, raised, and/or educated in the West so commonly assent. It does so by forcing theology (and scriptural exegesis, catechesis, and iconography) to serve the "one thing needful," the salvation of souls, by restoring theology to the (liturgical) life of the Church as its proper soil. To borrow a phrase from the Southern writer Marion Montgomery, the liturgical life of the Church cleans the air of "those floating spores" of Western theology "we yet daily breathe to our continuing discomfort." We can seldom go wrong if we are rooted in the life of the Church and breathe its purified air.

All of the merits of *The Living God* which have been presented ought to insure the book's wide circulation and use. On the basis of its superior organization and Christocentric focus alone, it should supplant other introductory texts on the Orthodox Church, including such classics as Timothy Ware's. For anyone involved in catechesis, either in teaching others or in teaching oneself, *The Living God* is absolutely essential.

Michael Butler

Justice in an Unjust World: Foundations for a Christian Approach to Justice. By Karen Lebacqz. Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1987. Pp. 192.

There are several unique and interesting dimensions presented in this work on the topic of justice by a respected Christian ethicist. Written from the perspective of liberation theology for a first world audience, the author selected a methodological approach which seeks

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The Orthodox Fast and the Philosophy of Vegetarianism

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IN A PREVIOUS ARTICLE¹ I STATED THAT, ACCORDING TO ORTHODOX thought, man has a "cosmic vocation." Such a vocation is to be understood in a threefold manner; a) to partake gratefully from the fruitfulness of the "good earth"; b) to share in its fertility (in the account of creation in Genesis, plants, animals, and human beings are to share in fertility and procreation); and c) to work for the transfiguration of nature as a co-worker with Christ.

The tripartite vocation means, in other words, that eating is to be treated as a sacrament, as a means for the celebration of life, as a "communion" with nature and with life, not as a means for the satisfaction of the appetites resulting in gluttony and in the desanctification of nature. The poet Kahlil Gibran expressed it well when he said "Let it (i.e. eating) then be an act of worship."² Furthermore, human beings and nature are reflections of each other: both share in life, and both are responsible for its continuity. God delegated his creative power to all living beings, to all living species, not simply to one species: "Be fruitful and multiply" was the charge given to all!

The least of God's creatures are as responsible, and thus have the same "right" for the propagation of the species, as human beings. But man has a distinctive role to play in this process. As a creature "in the image" of God,³ and as a co-worker with Christ he is to help

¹ *Epiphany* 10/3 (Spring, 1990) 19-32.

² Kahlil Gibran, *The Prophet* (New York, 1968), p. 23.

³ To the Fathers Christ was the image of God, and man therefore was made in

bring the created order to its transfigured state. This transfiguration is to be understood not only as a restoration to the original prelapsarian harmony, but also as the achievement of the *goal*, the *telos*, of its original creation and its *re*-creation in Christ, which began on the "eighth day" (as the Fathers called Sunday from the earliest of times).

Being mid-way between God and nature, human beings were designed to share integrally in the life of both: possessing God's spirit in a body that was moulded out of the ground. They were also created for "communion," for "fellowship," with God and with nature, albeit not in equal terms or with the same quality. According to St. Gregory of Nyssa "man came into being for this purpose, in order to share in the good things of God."⁴ Yet man's body was made from pre-existent elements, the same elements of which everything else in the universe was made. It was only inanimate nature that was created *ex nihilo*, out of nothing; all else was created out of this pre-existent nature.

Accordingly, human beings can commune with God in two ways: directly, or through material means (i.e. sacramentally). But they also have the capacity for "double" communion with nature as well: by physical communion (for example, by participating in the energies of nature — as nourishment, and by bestowing their energies on nature); and by moral/aesthetic communion — filling the soul with the beauty, and energizing the spirit with the goodness of creation. Throughout the chapter one of Genesis the phrase "and God saw that it was good" runs like a poetic refrain (4, 10, 12, 18, 21, and 25), climaxing in verse 31: "And God saw everything that has been made and behold, it was *very* good" (emphasis added). This phrase reflects moral worth and aesthetic value. Every created being is good and perfect, not only in itself but also as part of the whole. All beings perfectly reflect God's thought and intention. But notice that God first "saw" before he declared that "it was good." It is the act of seeing that brings out the aesthetic value. Thus the "goodness" of the created order means that it has an aesthetic value *and* a moral worth to God.⁵

the image of the Image.

⁴Gregory of Nyssa, *oratio Catechetica* (mana) 5.

⁵It is interesting to note that Aldo Leopold, who is considered by conservationists as a prophet, an "American Isaiah," and his book *A Sand Country Almanac* almost

Man, being in the "likeness" of God, was supposed to be deeply moved by this profound, religious, and optimistic conviction: that the world is very good and very beautiful. Being in the "Image," man was supposed to *reflect* the goodness and generosity of God to creation; and being a mediator he was to offer to the Creator the gratitude and the praise of creation. This is precisely what Leontios of Neapolis meant when he said: "The creation does not venerate the Creator through itself directly, but it is through me that the heavens declare the glory of God, through me the moon offers him homage, (and) through me the stars ascribe glory to him."⁶ A modern theologian, John Meyendorff, puts it thus: "The true purpose of creation is . . . communion in divine energy, transfiguration, and transparency to divine action in the world."⁷

Not only did man fail to accomplish this task, but instead he managed to shift the focus from God-centeredness to anthropo-centeredness. In disobeying God, man declared himself autonomous from both God and nature. His goal shifted from being "in the image" to becoming the reality of which he is its image. In other words, man wanted to exchange places with God, whereby he becomes the reality and God becomes the image. In his sinful state man makes God in his own image, to use a Freudian concept. Such a shift in perspective had its effect on man's relation to nature: from being a mediator between God and nature, to being the manipulator. Nature, symbolized by the "tree of knowledge," is now to be considered as a mere means for the *usurpation* of divine 'wisdom' (Gen 3.6). In his rivalry with God, man used nature for ends other than what it was meant to be. Thus the forces that destroy the land — greedy exploitation, wholesale deforestation, over-grazing, polluting the seas, the rivers, the air, etc. were unleashed. The "good earth" suffered and became disfigured on account of man's sin. Sin seems to blight God's

a holy book, arrived at conclusions similar to this interpretation of Genesis, but independently. He concluded that "A thing is right when it tends to *preserve the integrity, stability, and beauty* of the biotic community. It is wrong when it tends otherwise." (Emphasis added), pp. 224-25. I did not mean to belittle the work of this modern pioneer when I observed that the biblical account contains those precepts and much more.

⁶ Leontios of Neapolis, as quoted by K. Ware, in the *The Orthodox Way* (Crestwood, 1979), p. 70.

⁷ J. Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology* (New York, 1979), p. 133.

promise of the goodness, beauty, continuity, fertility, and stability of nature. Man's sense of obligation and duty to nature seems to have been lost, or to have become subservient to his concupiscence (unlimited lust) and to the new state of affairs that issued from his sinfulness; alienation set in, and brute force became his chief mode of operation and of relationship.

From a biblical perspective then, to sin against God is to sin against oneself as well as against the "good earth" which God placed within the grasp of man. It was on account of man's sin that the degradation occurred and continues to occur. Yet it is through man's righteousness that creation is to be restored. It is on account of this that God sent Christ as a man, to achieve on behalf of man what he is unable to do on his own, reconciling the world unto himself. That is how the Fathers interpret the biblical records.

This "reconciliation," this "restoration" of nature in Christ, is to take place through redeemed humanity, for "the creation waits with eager longing for the revelation of the Sons of God" . . . when it "will be set free . . . and obtain the glorious liberty of the children of God" (Rom 8.19-21).

Most theologians in the ecological movement are concerned, and rightly so, about pollution of the air, the seas, the rivers, etc. and are seeking a responsible form of action to remedy, or, at least, to slow down these processes. But what about the animals? Does this "restoration" and "redemption" in Christ extend to the animal world? What justification is there for the wholesale exploitation of animals? What should our attitudes be to animals? An Anglican theologian once stated that "The Christian tradition has shown an ambivalent attitude towards animal welfare. While it is often commonly supposed that Christian churches have taught kindness to animals and urged responsibility for our use of them, evidence to support this view is small indeed."⁸ Some of the critics of the Christian religion go much further than this. To John Passmore, Christianity is the least religion interested in animals. Animals and nature are treated simply as a resource without any thought for their welfare. He states that "in the Old Testament, men and animals have a common principle of life (*nebesh*); . . . God is represented as caring for animals just as he does for men. . . . But in Christian thinking, Paul's rhetorical

⁸A. Lindzey, *Animal Right* (London, 1976), p. 9.

question "doth God take care of oxen?" (1 Cor 9.9) ["of course not," Passmore's answer would be] was for long decisive. The Stoic teaching, with which Paul concurs, that the universe exists only for the sake of its rational members carried with it the conclusion that between men and animals — to say nothing of plants — there was no sort of moral or legal tie."⁹

In the same vein, but sharper still, a Process philosopher, Daniel Dombrowski, recently stated that the meagre guidance regarding animals given in the Old Testament "had nothing to do with animals *per se*, but rather with the condemnation of "pagan" (for example, Ugaritic) practices."¹⁰ He believes that not only did God make humans in his image, giving them dominion over every living thing, but also he "personally clothed Adam and Eve in animal skins (Gen 3.21), thus we should not be surprised that human beings offered God animal sacrifices in return for God's goodness."¹¹ But then he goes on to draw a bleaker picture of animals in the New Testament. He states that Jesus allows us to pull an animal out of a pit, even on a Sabbath (Lk 14.5), but not for the animal itself, but because "asses and oxen were valuable property."¹² For Dombrowski, "Jesus himself showed indifference (if not cruelty) to animals when he is portrayed by the Gospel writer as having unnecessarily forced two thousand swine to hurl themselves into the sea (Mt 8.28-34)."¹³ Does Dombrowski represent an authentic interpretation of Jesus? What should the Orthodox Christian attitude towards animals be?

Philosophical Views on the Status of Animals

Before dealing with these questions, it may prove to be useful to set my own views within the larger frame of philosophical discourse on "animal rights." Here I have to be very brief and selective. With regard to "animal liberation," there is considerable controversy

⁹ J. Passmore, *Man's Responsibility for Nature* (New York, 1974), p. 111.

¹⁰ D. A. Dombrowski, *Hartshorne and the Metaphysics of Animal Right* (Albany, 1988), p. 8.

¹¹ Ibid. p. 7.

¹² Ibid. p. 8. This same charge has already been leveled against Jesus by Passmore, *ibid.* p. 1961, to which another philosopher, R. Attfield, countercharges, "But this is to beg the question about Jesus' attitude towards animals." *The Ethics of Environmental Concern* (Oxford, 1983), p. 24.

¹³ Dombrowski, p. 8.

between what J. Baird Callicott calls, "Ethical Humanism" and "Humane Moralism." However, he had recently added a new dimension, whereby "Animal liberation and animal rights may well prove to be a triangular rather than . . . a polar controversy."¹⁴

The "ethical humanists" are orthodox in their philosophical orientation on animal rights. Only human beings qualify for moral standing; to deserve moral consideration a being must possess one or more of the moral "qualifiers." To John Passmore "having interests" is a criterion for having rights; animals do not have interests, therefore they do not possess rights.¹⁵ McCloskey insists that self-awareness is an exclusive human experience, and rights belong to those who possess it.¹⁶ Other philosophers put forth "rationality," "linguistic ability," and so on, as qualities necessary for holding rights. "The so-called 'lower animals,' it is insisted, lack the crucial qualification for ethical considerability and may be treated (albeit humanely, according to some, so as not to brutalize man) as things or means, not as persons or as ends."¹⁷

On the other hand, the "humane moralists" find inconsistency in the position of the "ethical humanists": not all human beings (babies and retarded citizens) qualify for moral consideration according to the various criteria specified. Yet they accord them rights. Andrew Lindzey,¹⁸ and Tom Regan employ this argument on behalf of the moral standing of animals.¹⁹ However, practically all the humane moralists produce one criterion for moral considerability: *sentience*. "If animals, they argue, are conscious entities who, though deprived of reason, speech, forethought or even *self-awareness* . . . are capable of suffering, then their suffering should be as much a matter of ethical concern as that of our fellow human beings, or strictly speaking, as our own."²⁰ These philosophers usually argue against the uniquely ethical standing. The benefit (moral considerability) which is supposed to proceed from the specific criterion (such

¹⁴J. Baird Callicott, *In Defense of the Land Ethic* (Albany, 1989), p. 18.

¹⁵*Ibid.* p. 116.

¹⁶H. J. McCloskey, "Moral Rights and Animals," *Inquiry*, 22 (1979), 23-54.

¹⁷Callicott, p. 18.

¹⁸*Cf. ibid.*

¹⁹"An Examination and Defense of One Argument Concerning Animal Rights." *Inquiry*, 22 (1979), p. 190.

²⁰Callicott, p. 19.

as rationality) is unrelated to it! On the other hand, the capacity to suffer appears more in keeping with moral considerability, since many philosophers, Epikuros to Bentham and Mill, considered pain as evil, and its opposite, pleasure, as good. Consequently, since human beings are moral agents, their duty is to minimize suffering and maximize pleasure. This moral obligation is due not only to human beings, but also to animals. The duties to animals should especially include the restriction, if not the elimination, of morally reprehensible actions of ours, such as hunting, butchering, and experimenting on them, since all these actions cause suffering and pain to animals. Hence, the person who is convinced by these principles should refrain from eating the flesh of animals, wearing their skin or using their bones for decorations. But it is important to keep in mind that the humane moralist, just like the ethical humanist, insists on a cut-off point on the spectrum of natural entities. They argue that certain creatures, those that are insensible to pleasure or pain, are morally inconsequential.

The third school in the animal liberation framework is that of the "land ethic." This position was propagated by Leopold and recently interpreted by Callicott. To the latter philosopher "the presently booming controversy between moral humanists and humane moralists appears . . . to be essentially internecine."²¹ The humane moralists are Benthamic (that is good and evil are equivalent to pleasure and pain respectively), and the moral humanists are Thomists, Kantians, Lockean and so forth. Therefore, the issues debated between these two schools have only an apparent newness about them, but "there is no serious challenge to cherished first principles. Hence, without having to undertake any creative reflection or exploration, or any reexamination of historical theory, a fresh debate has been stirred up. The familiar historical positions have simply been re-trenched, applied and exercised."²² Whereas Callicott's position is based on Leopold's "categorical imperative" (as he calls it) of the land ethic: "A thing is right when it tends to preserve the integrity, stability, and beauty of the biotic community. It is wrong when it tends otherwise."²³ What distinguishes this position from the

²¹Ibid. p. 20.

²²Ibid. pp. 20-21.

²³Ibid.

previous two is that the measure of moral value is not the pleasure/pain principle, but the good of the "biotic community." The individual member of a species has no rights on its own, only in so far as it provides for the good of the whole. In fact, it may not only be "ethically permissible" to kill an individual, under certain conditions, indeed "it might actually be a moral requirement."²⁴

I think it is obvious that the "land ethic" perspective has much to commend it. Yet, some of its shortcomings from an Orthodox theological perspective are apparent (for instance, the willingness to sacrifice an individual for the whole). But, since I have discussed some of these issues in my earlier paper let us move on to our next topic.

Jesus' Attitude towards Animals

First of all I shall take the story of Jesus' healing of the Gadarene demoniac which has given difficulty to many interpreters throughout history. Allow me to summarise the story first. After the landing of Jesus on the other side of Lake Tiberius, a demoniac (in Matthew's version it is two), hard to control, came and begged Jesus not to torment him. And when Jesus gave the command for the demons to exit from the man, the evil spirits begged him not to send them out of the country, but instead to send them to the nearby herd of swine. "So he gave them leave. And the unclean spirits came out, and entered the swine, and the herd, numbering about 2000, rushed down the steep bank of the sea, and were drowned in the sea" (Mk 5.13).

Looking at this story I do not find in any of the Gospels' accounts that Jesus "forced" the swine into the sea, as Dombrowski states, unless one takes this in an indirect sense. This story is to be understood, as all others, within its literary context, as well as within its *sitz im leben* (the situation of life). We should remember that for Jews, the swine were unclean animals. Yet here (in the demoniac's story) some were making profit out of the investment in an unclean business. We should assume that these people were Jews. Had they been otherwise, the Gospels writers would have informed us. They portrayed Jesus as ministering primarily to the Jews, seldom going to the Gentiles. On the rare occasion when he did go they let us know in no uncertain terms. They identified the racial background of the

²⁴Ibid.

few people who came in contact with him, such as the Syro-Phoenecian woman. (Mk 7.24-30) So the first practical lesson Jesus gives in this story is that investment in "unclean" business is reprehensible to God.

But the second, more dramatic, yet deeper lesson of this story is usually overlooked by the commentators, ancient or modern! It was the ritually "unclean" animals, that is the pigs, who would rather die than tolerate the presence in their very midst of the really unclean and evil spirits. By contrast, it is the human beings who accomodate themselves to the presence of evil in their midst, and yet could not bear the sight of the "works of God"! That is why we find in the Gospels' account that it was the pigs who hurled themselves over the cliffs. There is no suggestion, as some commentators believe, that this was a case of stampede. Nor are the evil spirits responsible for this. For, according to Mark, it is they who begged Jesus not to send them out of the country; and (in Luke) they were the ones who pleaded not to be sent back to the abyss. It was the pigs themselves who decided to send the demons to where they came from — the abyss! Then, the accusation against Jesus that he showed indifference, if not cruelty, to animals is not only not valid, but completely misses the parabolic meanings of the story of the Gadarene demoniac and the pigs. It is true that some Christian writers, such as St. Augustine to be specific, interpreted this story in the sense that, by sending the devils into the herd of swine, Jesus showed that there are no common rights between humans and beasts.²⁵ But this is St. Augustine, not Jesus! Yet we need not be harsh on Augustine. At the time he was fighting the Manicheans with whom he was associated for a period of over seven years, and who dichotomized the world into spirit, and matter, good and evil respectively. This group held, apparently, a superstitious attitude towards animals and vegetarianism, which was inconsistent with their teachings. Consequently, to be fair to St. Augustine, we cannot understand fully his meaning until we understand the position of his enemies against whom he was directing these remarks. It is also possible that St. Augustine, along with many other Christians, misunderstood Jesus at this point.

From my previous discussion, however, we can see that Jesus was, in fact, concerned with human beings, and animals as well as plants.

²⁵St. Augustine, *The Catholic and Manichaeian ways of Life* (Boston, 1966), pp. 91-102.

Did he not direct the gaze of his followers to animals and plants? He instructed his followers saying: "look at the birds in the sky"; "look at the lilies of the field." Doesn't this remind us of the Genesis account of creation when God pronounced the goodness of the earth and of all created beings *after* he *saw* his creation? Nature has the power to evoke, in attentive human beings, its moral worth and its aesthetic value, thereby evoking a reflection of God's own response!

We should call to mind another aspect of Jesus' attitude to animals, which is usually overlooked: his death on the cross was not only on behalf of human beings, but also on behalf of animals. His death literally liberated the animals from being sacrifices for religious purposes. The sacrifice of Jesus' own life replaced the sacrifices men used to make for their own sins and for their own lives. No longer are the animals to bear the sins or guilt of men. Man is responsible for his own sin and guilt, and should himself suffer the consequences. Yet it was Christ who died on behalf of human beings, in their place. In practical terms, he died *in place* of animals, thereby liberating and reconciling them to himself and to human beings.

One can imagine the implication of all this once one reflects on the practice of animal sacrifice that was carried on by Jews at their Passover festival during Jesus' time. Josephus, a Jewish historian, writing towards the end of the first century A.D., wanted to calculate the number of Jews who were present in Jerusalem around 65 A.D. He did not possess statistics on the number of human beings, but, apparently, knew the number of lambs that were sacrificed at the Passover of that year. 256,000 lambs were sacrificed at the Temple mound alone, between 3 and 5 PM!²⁶ Even if Josephus were exaggerating, still this is staggering. Had Jesus' followers continued this animal sacrifice, for the one billion Christians of today, you would need 100,000,000 lambs for sacrifice at Easter time (assuming, with Josephus, that one animal would suffice for 10 human beings). The Muslims to this day continue the sacrifice. It is a requirement of all Muslims, especially those who go on al-Hajj (pilgrimage) to Mecca, to sacrifice one animal per person, if the animal is small, such as a sheep or a goat; or to share with others if it is large, such as cow or camel.

The Christians, then, eliminated all animal sacrifices. Christ

²⁶Josephus, Flavius, *Wars of the Jews*, 6, 9:3.

instituted instead the offering of bread and wine, which came to be called in the early church, "bloodless sacrifice." Moreover, as symbols of the reconciliation with the animal world the Orthodox Church instituted specified fasts from animal flesh and animal products (I shall discuss this later on in this paper); and it prohibited the binding of Bibles, especially the Gospels, in leather. Any such bound Bible is prohibited from being brought to the sanctuary in the church. (Would that the Orthodox Church prohibit the bringing of leather shoes, belts, wallets, etc. to the sanctuary! This would be a symbol of reconciliation as well as a teaching tool. It might even be a good idea to follow the practice — which the Muslims do for quite a different reason — of removing the shoes before entering the place of worship.)

The Fathers' Teachings on the Garments of Skin

It is needless to say that the most important influence on the Fathers was Jesus. Accordingly it is only proper to inquire into the way they understood him, and how they applied his teachings on the subject under discussion. They opened their lives fully to Jesus, and they wanted to live, act, think in him and through him. Since we just have been discussing animal sacrifice it might be instructive to see their attitude on this issue. They were all unanimous that the death of Christ ended animal sacrifice once and for all. I think this is clear to anyone who is remotely acquainted with the Fathers, or with Christianity. Accordingly there is no need to discuss this question further, except to point out an interesting observation of theirs on the question of "animal skins" with which God clothed the first human pair after their Fall. This point is pertinent, since some of the writers I referred to earlier believed animals must have been sacrificed in order to obtain their skins, whereas most of the Fathers did not take it in such crude interpretation. They could not accept the idea that actual animal skins were used. Some of them, like Origen of Alexandria, (in agreement with Philo and some of the Gnostics) took this expression to refer to the body itself. In other words, since human beings pre-existed in a disembodied state, their sinfulness resulted in being "clothed" in flesh. But later some of the Fathers corrected this position. For instance, St. Gregory of Nyssa writing in his "Catechetical Oration" around 383, asserts: "After the first men had fallen into what was forbidden and had been stripped of beatitude, the Lord

gave coats (garments) of skins to the Protoplasts. I do not think that these should be interpreted as ordinary skins. Of what species indeed were the animals who were killed and skinned to provide the garment thus contrived? But since all skin removed from the living creature is dead, I believe that the meaning is the aptitude for death . . . ”²⁷ Many of the Fathers held similar ideas.²⁸ The meaning of the “animal skin” then is not about “death” but about “mortality,” about a new state in which man finds himself, a “life in death.” “There is now no grace in the life welling up naturally within him. Life continues only so long as death is postponed. That which exists now in the proper sense is death: “life” has been transmuted into ‘survival’.”²⁹

The result of Adam’s abandonment of the divine food, for the forbidden, according to Maximus the Confessor, is a “living death,” and a handing over of the whole of nature as food for death. And “death lives throughout this whole space of time, having made us its food, but we never truly live, for we are always devoured by death through decay.”³⁰ This momentous act then, introduced a double disruption: man’s affinity with God, and man’s union with the material creation. It is the paradoxical effect of the act of food that human beings began to be living a “living death,” and all nature became “food for death.”

Yet it was God who dressed fallen humanity in these skins, as Nellas points out. What does this paradox mean? It means that God in his compassion and wisdom transforms the new situation into a blessing. He wants to lead humanity into a more fulfilling destiny, recreating it in the Second Adam. “He adds it (i.e. the garments of skin) like a second nature to the existing human nature, so that by using it correctly humanity can survive and realize its original goal in Christ.”³¹ Thus it is the paradoxical effect of the act of eating that human beings achieved the “living death,” and all nature became “food for death,” and yet potentially they can be transformed into

²⁷ *Catechetical Orations*, PG 46.34C.

²⁸ Cf. Danielou, “The Dove and the Darkness,” in Joseph Campell, ed. *Man and Transformation*, Bollinger Series 30.5 (Princeton, 1964), pp. 270-96.

²⁹ P. Nellas, “The Garments of Skin,” in *Deification in Christ*, trans. N. Russel (Crestwood, 1987), p. 47.

³⁰ Quoted by Nellas, *ibid.* p. 40.

³¹ Nellas, p. 61.

a higher status in Christ. In other words, the act of eating produced a paradox: On the one hand it involved the putting on the garments of skin, the garments of mortality; but at the same time these garments meant a blessing, a way out of the new situation man found himself in. But this brings me to the question of asceticism and monasticism.

Monasticism

Let us remember, first of all, that we often focus our attention on the theological formulations and liturgical traditions of the Fathers in our attempt to interpret them. But they have left us two other great traditions: monasticism and asceticism. These are not usually studied as carefully, either from a theological or a psychological perspective, except within the discipline of history. My purpose here is not to deal with the question of monasticism, but of fasting which is part of the ascetic tradition. But, first, I would like to make one comment, of a polemic nature, on the question of monasticism. Roger Shinn, a well-known Protestant theologian from Union Theological Seminary, once asked rhetorically: "Can Christians adequately appreciate nature while rejecting so fundamental an aspect of their own nature?"³² In this remark he is referring to the question of the monastic tradition. It is unfortunate that many Christians in the West, with a strong dose of Manichaeism, and a heavy reliance on Old Testament theology, have a built-in bias towards monasticism. But the monastics are not *denying* their own nature, they are disciplining the overbearing appetites of the flesh so they might be able to affirm the other, higher nature which God gave them in the first place. Human beings are not simply bodies with appetites, but also spirits with more elevated aspirations. But more important, the Christian East views what is called by Shinn "human nature" to be the resultant condition of the Fall. It is "the garments of skin." True human nature is made "in the Image." And, as we have seen, these "garments" were given to man after the Fall. They are the garments of mortality — the passions, the appetites, the instinctive biological struggle for survival. This does not represent the "natural" state of man, but the unnatural. The true natural state of man, according to the Fathers, is human nature which is "in the Image." This is not the "super" nature of

³²Roger Shinn, "Science and Ethical Decision," in I. Barbour, ed. *Earth Might be Fair* (Inglewood Cliffs, 1972), pp. 141-42.

Scholasticism. It is the original nature of man. Whereas the historical reality develops within an unnatural situation. Thus, from an Eastern perspective, Shinn begins from a false starting point and a mistaken orientation. "The false starting-point is the failure to appreciate the unnatural condition in which we find ourselves, and the mistaken orientation is that we are searching for something which is natural in the midst of unnatural."³³ But, let us remember that, the garments of skin have a positive role to play in the dynamic salvation of man. The activity of supplying the needs of the "garments of skin" is to be conducted with the view to recovering the original nature, nature "in the Image." The needs of the garments of skin are not an end in themselves, but a stepping stone towards a higher goal. Hence the need for asceticism in order that the "historical nature" of man may become in harmony with the ontological nature. In other words man is Christocentric in his origin and in his goal. In addition, asceticism, as the original meaning of the term in Greek, means discipline. It seems to me human beings need discipline from the moment they are born, if they are going to survive. Athletes as well as scholars would deny, at least, some pleasures of the flesh in order to reach a higher goal. Didn't the Hebrew sage of old say "much study is a weariness of the flesh (Eccl 12.12)?"

The Human Condition

I shall address this topic from the perspective of the point of view of ecology in general, and of human attitude to animals in particular.

It is generally assumed that man, from the beginning of history, dominated and manipulated nature in pursuit of the satisfaction of his own greed. But should we not ask, why do humans want to dominate the environment? Is it because of the need for food and for power? Is it part of the natural instinct of the "struggle for survival" in the evolutionary process, and thus, part of the "garments of skin"? But why the greed? Several answers were given to such questions. I shall not embark here on a survey of the various answers. What I am interested in at this time is Jesus' own answer to these questions.

If I were to pick out one term to describe Jesus' view of the human

³³Nellas, p. 43.

condition I would pick the term "anxiety." It seems to me that Jesus traced man's trouble to anxiety. What I refer to by this term is the ontological, not existential anxiety. It is the fear and the dread of annihilation, the fear of nothingness, and of the loss of meaning.³⁴ "To be or not to be, that is the question," as Shakespeare is often quoted.

To highlight this concept of Jesus I shall refer to the teaching of another great religious teacher, Gautama Buddha. There are Four Noble Truths according to Buddha: 1) Life is full of suffering, 2) Craving or desire is the cause of suffering, 3) To eliminate suffering you eliminate craving, 4) This can be achieved through the Eight-fold Noble Path. Thus Buddha provides an escape, a liberation from all attachments, and so, from greed. However, the account of our present life and circumstances are largely due to actions in previous lives. This is part of Buddha's doctrine of "dependent (or conditioned) chain of origination." Thus past attachments form our present prison, to which one might be condemned again if one does not get liberated from all present attachments.

No doubt Jesus would agree with Buddha on the necessity of curbing the appetites. Christian history of asceticism show how many Christians understood their master's teachings on this issue. But Jesus goes back much farther than Buddha in tracing man's troubles. Jesus does not want to eliminate all desire. After all life itself is desire! Jesus wanted to redirect desire to its proper goals. He instructed his disciples to "*seek* first the kingdom of God." Did he not say also "Blessed are those who hunger and thirst for righteousness" (Mt 5.6)? Wouldn't he have been in full harmony with the Psalmist when he said: "As a heart longs for flowing streams, so longs my soul for thee O God. My soul thirsts for God, for the living God" (Ps 42.1-2)? Jesus taught his followers to *desire* God and to *love* their neighbors. We choose the wrong kind of desire because of fear, because of anxiety. Listen to some of the words of Jesus as they are given in the Sermon on the Mount on the question of anxiety: "... do not be anxious about your life ... look at the birds of the air ... which one of you by being anxious can add one cubit to his span of life? ... Consider the lilies of the field ... Therefore do not be anxious about

³⁴For a discussion of the various meanings of the word "anxiety," see David Coe, *Angst and the Abyss: the Hermeneutics of Nothingness* (Chico, 1985).

tomorrow . . .” (Mt 6.25-34)

These are but some of the texts that address anxiety directly. There are many others which are indirect. But this is enough to illustrate that Jesus finds human beings in a state of anxiety. He did not find desire or craving to be the cause of anxiety. He located the cause somewhere else.

Human beings are in a state of extreme anxiety, an ontological anxiety. There is the dreaded possibility of death, the possibility of annihilation. In the Garden Adam was not given two possibilities but one: not to eat from the one tree. Why did the first human pair eat from that tree? One of the predominant answers to this question has been, *hubris*, pride. Another interpretation put forward by St. Augustine, which seems to have had a decisive influence on Lutheranism, is concupiscence, unlimited desire. Certainly both *hubris* and concupiscence were involved in the first human pair's decision to eat from the forbidden fruit. Through *hubris* man attempts to elevate himself to the sphere of the divine, by becoming the center of the universe. And through concupiscence man is tempted to acquire knowledge of everything, that is knowledge of “good and evil,” by means of which, or so the tempter insinuated, man could determine his own destiny. Without these hallucinatory visions, “temptations,” Adam might not have been able to go through with his decision. These two, *hubris* and concupiscence, are marks or signs of Adam's sin. They are not the sin itself. Yet they are not only contributing, but necessary factors in Adam's decision. To be proud in the face of God, and to desire to become like God in knowledge, implies an already existing state of disruption between God and man. This means that a state of unbelief or lack of faith already exists. Such a lack of faith in God and in His promise, implies that lack of harmony is already in place. Lack of faith implies that disruption has already begun to take place. It is another sign of the disruption.

But if the above are marks or signs of the presence of disruption between man and God, what is the basic condition for this disruption? As I stated earlier, I believe that it is anxiety. Had Adam not dreaded the possibility of annihilation — for God put “death” as a possibility if he ate from the fruit of the tree — lack of faith, *hubris* and concupiscence might have not arisen. These are symptoms, manifestations, of sin, not sin itself. Yes, one can say, with many, that original sin was an act of disobedience, an act of rebelliousness. But still one would ask, what is the motivation behind disobedience?

Moreover an act of disobedience or rebelliousness implies that a state of disruption (at least inner disruption) had already taken place. Man, on account of his anxiety, could not trust God with his destiny. It is on account of this anxiety, this dread of annihilation, and the corresponding lack of trust in God for his destiny, that man believed the serpent instead of God. He ate from the fruit so that he might possess knowledge by which he can be assured of his own destiny. It turned out that man believed in lies. For, as a modern Russian philosopher reminds us, "fear is the father of falsehood."³⁵

Allow me to illustrate this last point graphically. Take the drowning person for an example. If the lifeguard is not trained in safety procedures he might be grabbed in the throat by the drowning person, and thus both drown. Fear of drowning, and the urge to survive, takes hold of a person to the point of becoming totally irrational. This urge to survive has been rediscovered for modern science by Charles Darwin through the concept of "struggle for existence." However this urge had been expressed by religions from time immemorial. It is beautifully and tragically portrayed in the Sumerian-Babylonian tale, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*. Gilgamesh is bewildered in the face of death, the death of his friend Enkidu. He cries while facing the corpse:

O my young brother Enkidu . . . what is this
which holds you now? . . . How can I rest,
how can I be at peace? Despair is in my heart.
What my brother is now, that I shall be when
I am dead. Because I am afraid of death I will go
. . . and find the secret of everlasting life.³⁶

Eventually Gilgamesh picks up the plant from the bottom of the sea only to lose it to the dreaded snake. And so the tragic search continues.

The story of Gilgamesh is the story of humanity from Adam till now. Human beings are still seeking the elixir of life and youth, whether through vitamin pill or through the "sorcerer's apprentice"

³⁵Nicholas Berdyaev, *The Divine and the Human* (London, 1949), p. 18.

³⁶*The Epic of Gilgamesh*, an English version by N. K. Sanders (Baltimore, 1964), p. 94.

(technological man).

The Quest for Survival

Let us return to the teachings of Jesus. As I have already stated, Jesus found humanity in an extreme state of anxiety. But human beings share with the rest of the animal world the urge to survive. The tragedy with man is not that he follows his animal instinct for survival, but that he elevated this blind biological urge into an ethical principle. That is to say, he puts self interest as a boundary for his actions, and he is ready to fight those who "encroach" upon this boundary. Humans ravage the world with a view to survival: they erect borders and raise the "protective" iron walls to the stars in the name of survival — whether we call that protection of freedom or the elimination of the servitude of the workers, makes no difference. We destroy the earth because we are dominated by fear and anxiety. We want to dominate because we are dominated by fear. In fact, if we look deeply into civilization we see that it is largely built on anxiety. Anxiety is so much a part of civilization that it is hard to disentangle one from the other. We build houses and cities, instill fear of the future in children, raise up armies, mortgage our lives, we establish insurance companies; all for fear of the unknown future. We cannot live freely because we are in a state of dread. Thus we are dominated by anxiety. Anxiety is the parent of domination.

This state of fear obscures the destiny which man was made for in the first place. Deification, transformation of the iconic potential in man into the Image — bringing with him the natural order — was the goal for which he was created. This is what Maximos the Confessor meant when he stated that "Man has been set over all things as a kind of worship holding everything together, and has been appropriately placed in creation as a natural mediator in his own person between all the things which are at opposite extremes . . . Thus man possesses by virtue of his nature full power to bring about union through the mediation between all the extremes that he is able to effect, since . . . he is himself related to all these extremes."³⁷ This goal has been derailed for the sake of a goal made up of an illusory one. That is how the Fathers, following Jesus, diagnose the human

³⁷Quoted by Nellas, p. 211.

situation.

The Lord's Prayer

But the aim of Jesus was not to eliminate anxiety. He wanted, instead to restore trust in God. He sees that it is this lack of trust, this lack of connectedness with God, which is responsible for the human sickness unto death. It is trust, not courage, which is the answer to anxiety. It is around this point that Jesus centers his teachings. Since the Lord's prayer is the essence of Jesus' teachings, let us turn to it to see what light it throws on the subject under discussion.

This prayer is, significantly, placed right in the center of the Sermon of the Mount. There are 54 verses up to the Lord's prayer, and 49 following it. Thus the Lord's prayer is, both physically and spiritually, the center of the Sermon. But the Sermon represents a summary of Jesus' teachings. Then the Prayer is a summary of the summary. Thus discussing this prayer throws light on the Sermon, and *vice-versa*.

The first thing we notice is that Jesus urges the faithful who live on this *earth*, to address God, who lives in *heaven*, as Abba, Father. According to Jeremias, this tender filial address of God, as "abba," was something "quite new, absolutely new" in the Hebraic religious experience.³⁸ To the Hebrews God was transcendent, and the absolute sovereign. To call him by a familiar endearing name, "abba," which is equivalent to "daddy" was difficult to fathom for the generation of Jews in Jesus' time.

Similarly in the other great monotheistic religion, Islam, God is wholly transcendent. Yes, he does come very close to the believer, but in a "wholly other" way. Among all the 99 "beautiful" names of God in Islam (which includes "the most merciful," "the most beneficent," etc.), nowhere do we find a name that comes close to Jesus' concept of "Father." Jesus wanted to build a childlike relationship of trust, which opens the doors of God's kingdom. Doesn't he say "unless you become like children again you will not enter the Kingdom of God" (Mt 18.3)? Trust is built in the parent child relationship. Trust is the opposite of anxiety. "In this term *abba* the ultimate mystery of his mission and his authority is expressed. He, to whom

³⁸J. Jeremias, *The Lord's Prayer* (Philadelphia, 1969), p. 18.

the Father had granted full knowledge of God, had the messianic prerogative of addressing him with the familiar address of a son. This term *abba* is an *ipsissima vox* (Jesus' own original way of speaking) of Jesus and contains *in nuce* his message and his claim to have been sent by the Father."³⁹ Yet he encouraged his followers to come to God, as a child to a father, bridging the distance that separates the two.

It seems that Jesus wanted to remove the ceiling separating heaven and earth represented in the Hebraic cosmology of a three tiered universe, where God is living in the upper storey.

Not that Christ wanted to eliminate the world, rather he wanted to extend God's sovereignty to it. That is why the second petition of the Lord's prayer requests, "Thy kingdom come" and that his will be done on earth as it is in heaven. When this happens this world would be transfigured.

Then it is after these "thou" petitions that the disciples are instructed to pray for their needs. It is significant that the first of the "we" petitions is concerned with sustenance. To Jesus, to pray for the daily sustenance is legitimate. Yet one needs to place it within perspective, and not make it the overriding concern. It is not biological survival *at any cost*. Christ provides us with a theology of food. The first human sin was connected with eating. And, parallel to that, Jesus' own temptation was connected with food. Therefore placing food within its proper context is of primary concern. Most of human anxiety is connected with food, or with the security that food provides. Yet Jesus reminds us that one cannot eat more than his daily needs. Only the few of Jesus' followers throughout history understood him, and acted upon that understanding with heroic courage — such as Anthony the Great, the founder of monasticism, and Francis of Assisi.

The second "we" petition concerns forgiveness. There is no Christian life, no human life and, certainly, no created life without community. It is the community which defines the individual, and the individual exists in virtue of the community. Thus a simple biological existence without a communal relationship is not meaningful. Bread is not sufficient for creating a community even on the social level. Meaningful relationships do not exist without forgiveness. Accordingly, since sin affected all relationships, and all communion, humanity needs forgiveness in order to restore a meaningful relationship with God,

³⁹Ibid. p. 20.

with fellow humans and with fellow creatures. And this is part of the meaning of the fast.

The Fast

The question of the fast is a practical matter, but has a serious theological contribution to make on the subject under discussion. There are several fast cycles during the liturgical year. These fasts are usually attached to the great feasts: the fast of Advent (40 days), the fast of Easter (48 days), for instance. These, together with the other fasts, and the weekly fasts of Wednesdays and Fridays, comprise about two hundred days a year. The fasts generally encourage abstention from eating meats and animal products, such as milk, cheese and eggs. Some fasts are stricter than others. For instance, it is recommended for the first week of the Easter fast — which would have been prepared for by partial fasts two weeks earlier — that no food or drink be taken after Sunday evening until after the Eucharist on Wednesday evening, then no food or drink until Friday evening. The single meals in these two days are supposed to be “dry,” that is either raw or cooked with water — oil is not allowed, and butter is forbidden anyway. For the rest of the Lent, two meals a day are recommended. Holy Week varies, but is often treated as the first week.

This prescription by the Church is meant for all Orthodox Christians, except the sick and the elderly. However, in addition to these prescribed fasts, all monks and nuns are prohibited from eating meat of any kind (with the exception of fish on certain days) during the entire year. Those from among the laity who want to follow the monastic tradition of fasting can do so if they wish to. Thus the Orthodox Christians practice strict vegetarianism for more than half of the year, except the monastics who practice a fuller form of vegetarianism as we have seen. This practice contrasts well with the vegetarianism of some of the philosophers discussed earlier, who practice semi-vegetarianism but who eat dairy products year round. Whereas, if any of the Orthodox laity want to practice the monastic form of fast without joining any monastic society, they would not be discouraged, since the line that separates the laity from the monastic community is very thin indeed. But it is important to remember that the Orthodox fast has been in place from time immemorial. During this time the faithful have experimented with various foods (weeds, vegetables, etc.) in establishing food habits and food preparation traditions suitable

to various climates and various seasons. After all, the Russian, the Eskimos, the Chinese, the Indians, the Africans, in addition to the Mediterranean peoples, have managed to establish food traditions. Moreover, in starting a shift of perspective (which is necessary in the case for vegetarianism), it is useful to begin with established norms and traditions. For instance, many Orthodox in America say it is difficult for them to keep the fast. Thanksgiving, for instance is celebrated during the Advent fast. Moreover most canned, or prepared foods have animal products. But primarily the American culture is oriented towards meat eating, and the heavy use of dairy products. Accordingly it would not be inappropriate for churches to encourage the faithful to cooperate and work together to help each other out in keeping the fasts. One does not have to begin educating them from scratch.

But more important is the meaning associated with the fasts or with the vegetarianism of the philosophers. To the latter it is on account of sentience, the feelings of pain, which is the cause of abstention from animal flesh. Certainly not to cause pain is a praiseworthy endeavor, and should be encouraged. But if this is the primary ethical criterion for the treatment of animals, why shouldn't the alleviation of suffering be extended to the animals in the wild? Shouldn't the strong animals, the tiger for instance, be forbidden to cause suffering on a deer? This is only one example of the many and varied instances and examples. But this is sufficient to point to a major weakness in this philosophic tradition.

On the other hand, the Orthodox approach fasting from a different and much wider perspective. First of all, it is a bodily training, it is an *askesis*. The Church believes that the body needs discipline, in order to be integrated with the spirit, and in order to produce a unified person. A good image of that was given by Plato a long time ago, his simile of the chariot and the charioteer, representing the soul and the body. Man seems to be lazy by nature, and if it were left up to him to follow the urges of his appetites without serious repercussions in the short term, he might destroy himself in the process. Such, apparently, is the dream of man, if we are to believe what some of the Muslim commentators state that the future life (the ideal life) in paradise is supposed to be. According to Ibn Katheer (who lived in the fifteenth century),⁴⁰ a man will be given a couch made

⁴⁰Ibn Katheer, *Tafseer (Commentary on the Quran)*, in Arabic, (Beruit, 1981).

from golden threads and other precious metals. While he is reclining, virgins (who number either 40, according to some or 400, according to others) dance around him, and many young boys, who never grow old, minister to his needs. Branches of various trees, bearing fruits of various kinds are waving over his head, vying with each other which is going to be honoured first by having its fruit be the first to drop in his mouth. Then all kinds of beautiful birds move about him, and all he has to do is to look at the most beautiful of them and desire it, then it gets killed, plucked and cooked and brought to him on a golden platter without his lifting a finger (I suppose he had to go through the trouble of chewing and eating it!). But isn't this similar to how the Hebrews understood the God's consequential statement that, as a result of the Fall, man shall earn his bread with the sweat of his brow? Man took this to be a curse. Basically the body is lazy, and would rather not work hard for even its own well being. Did not Christ say "the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak"? Ask any athlete and you will be told that it is not pleasant to put the body through training. The word usually employed for this is "stress." Intellectually we know the benefits, and the body itself afterwards appreciates it. The body would rather achieve this by some sort of magic, and without much effort!

But there is another deeper theological meaning of the fast. I have already discussed the liberation of animals from religious sacrifice, through the death of Jesus. Furthermore I alluded to the disruption between God, man and nature as a result of the Fall. And in order for man to fulfill his cosmic vocation, he has to bring nature as an oblation of peace to God so that God becomes "all in all" according to the words of Origen, and others of the fathers who came after him. So man began with a potential unity with God and nature. But at the end he needs to actualize such a unity. Yet in order to do this humans need first of all to repent to God for their misdeeds, and to nature itself. So the fast, in practical terms, is an act of repentance towards the animals, as well as an act of reconciliation, prefiguring life in paradise where the lamb shall lie with the wolf and not be hurt, and especially lie with the worst predator of all, and not be eaten. It is true that this repentance and reconciliation takes place every year, and that it is not once and for all. This is because of human weakness, but it is good to remind ourselves yearly, and weekly, of our obligation to nature, and especially to the animal world. The ultimate goal is the transfiguration of man and nature in Christ.

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The Place of the Icon in the Liturgical Life of the Orthodox Church

THEODOR NIKOLAOU

SINCE ANCIENT TIMES, THE ROLE OF THE ICON IN CHURCH LIFE HAS become a stumbling block and object of theological dispute. Two main tendencies can be identified in the history of the Church: on the one hand, towards the end of the second or beginning of the third century, ordinary Christians are the first to introduce icons into their religious life, influenced also by the ancient world outside the realm of Christianity, while ecclesiastical authors and Fathers of the Church — at least until the beginning of the fourth century — had reservations and also occasionally speak out against these icons. There are ecclesiastical authors who even later still reject the use of icons, and because of the latter accuse the faithful of idolatry in their religious observance. Because of their ignorance and excesses, the faithful sometimes provided grounds for such accusations. It is, indeed, well known that churchmen such as Konstantine, bishop of Nakoleia, and Thomas, metropolitan of Klaudioupolis, were among the first leaders of the Byzantine iconoclasts. The main element in the struggle between those for and against icons was the christological question: whether the person of Jesus Christ as God incarnate can be represented in icons or not, and whether the divinity of Jesus — which in itself is not capable of pictorial representation — can also be depicted, or merely his human nature. This is a sensitive nerve-point for the Christian faith and explains both the acute intensity and long duration of the period of the Iconoclast controversy (726-843), and the reason why the victory over the iconoclasts has been and still is celebrated as a victory for Orthodoxy: the true faith and the

true form of religion.

As is well-known, the rules of faith and extreme theological precision where icons are concerned were set down for us by decisions arising from the Seventh Ecumenical Synod (787). These decisions, which are absolutely binding for the Church, are not only accepted by Orthodox Christians, but also, for example, by Roman Catholics. In spite of this, the latter have a broadly differing attitude to icons in their everyday life in contrast to that of the Orthodox Christians. Among Protestants, on the other hand, the critical, or rather negative attitude to icons is limited not only to the practice of veneration itself, but also touches the doctrines of their church. Leading ecclesiastical historians of the Protestant churches, for example Adolf von Harnack, perceive the continued existence of elements of pagan Greek religion and the falsification of Christianity in the icons of the Orthodox Church.

I considered this short historical introduction to be appropriate in order to show how necessary it is for each and every Christian to make as comprehensive and extensive an inquiry as possible into the nature of icons. With this goal in mind, my treatise will deal with the following aspects: 1. The icon and its serving role in the mystery of salvation (mystery of the *oikonomia*); 2. the icon as a source of educational material and a means of expression of the hierarchy of liturgical and theological values in the Orthodox Church; and 3. the icon as an expression of liturgical life.

The Icon and its Role in the Mystery of Salvation

If religion is generally defined as a meeting of a human being with the Divine — with God, then prayer represents the particular and tangible expression of this meeting and relationship. For this reason, prayer is the key to a real and fundamental knowledge and understanding of any religion. For Christianity in particular, prayer has become the only criterion, because as Jesus Christ himself assures us “The hour is coming, and it is already here, when the true worshipers will worship the Father in spirit and in truth, for this is how the Father wishes to be worshiped. God is Spirit, and all who worship him must do so in spirit and in truth” (Jn 4.23-24). The call for worship “in spirit and in truth” is the *differentia specifica* between the Christian and the other religions. This difference consists more precisely of the fact that, in Jesus Christ, the true God was made

manifest; and exactly because Christian worship is directed at the true God, it proves itself "in truth," that is, as the only true form of worship. This true worship is not subject to external spatial and temporal limitations and is not dependent upon a particular liturgical order. It is sufficient when its content agrees with the holy Scriptures and the writings of the apostles and remains in an unfalsified form.

This content is, in the first place, the belief in the Holy Trinity of God. It is, as Saint Theodore of Studios would say, "the dogma of theology." The clear statement of John the Evangelist, that "God is Spirit" and that worship has to take place "in the spirit," is completely consistent with the dogma of theology. In accordance with this, "God is infinite and incapable of comprehension by us," as John of Damascus¹ stresses, and "completely incomprehensible to us . . . and incapable of description," as Theodore of Studios² adds. The theology of the icons regards the statement about the impossibility of any description of God as absolutely binding and indispensable. It respects this statement totally. We are concerned here with a constant factor in the doctrine about icons, namely that iconographic representation of the holy, life-giving Trinity is forbidden. In this context the prohibition set down in Mosaic Law is inviolable. Breach of this prohibition, which is sometimes also to be seen in Orthodox places of worship, means a serious deviation from the old, healthy traditions of the Church and embodies an action which is theologically unacceptable. For "nobody has ever seen God. The only begotten Son, who is God and resides at the bosom of the Father, is the one that has brought news of him" (Jn 1.18). This news, the revelation of Christ, is not concerned with the essence of God, which is unapproachable, intangible and cannot be described. Christ did not make the Holy Trinity visible. Because, as John of Damascus sets down, "we can make pictures of all those objects and forms that we have seen,"³ we are not permitted to produce pictures of the invisible God, who cannot be described, and set them up in places of worship or elsewhere for the purpose of veneration. There is an exception

¹ John of Damascus, *The Orthodox Faith* 4: PG 94.800B.

² *Theodore of Studios* Antirh. 1,1: PG 99.329C.

³ *John of Damascus* De imag. 3,24; PG 94.1344C.

in this case, but only in the form of icons with a symbolic content, as for example Abraham's banquet, or the well-known icons depicting the baptism of Jesus. The subject-matter of these icons is in accordance with the text of the Holy Scripture and is an interpretation of it and it is therefore not opposed to the worship of God "in spirit and in truth."

The revelation of Jesus Christ is mainly a message and embassy about the philanthropy (love of man) of God, the infinite love and other uncreated energies of God. The central and decisive point of God's love for man, which cannot be described, is the mystery of the *oikonomia* (of salvation) itself, that is to say the incarnation of the Son and Word of God. One of the Trinity has taken on a human nature and become one of us. This means an unconfused and unchangeable unity of "that which cannot be described" with "that which can be described." Thus Jesus Christ cannot be described and portrayed, inasmuch as he was generated by the Father before time itself, but he can be portrayed inasmuch as he was born of Mary, the Mother of God.

Consequently, the rejection of a pictorial representation of Christ would therefore mean a denial of the human form, the real humanity of Jesus. This would mean a refutation of the salvation and of Christ the Savior himself. Just as namely the heresy of Apollinarios was fought against on soteriological grounds, so the theological reflection on the same grounds lays down the precepts for the iconographic representation of Christ. The statement by Saint Gregory the Theologian⁴ "τὸ γὰρ ἀπρόσληπτον ἀθεράπευτον" (which freely translated means: Those aspects of the human nature which were not united with Christ at his incarnation have not been redeemed) can also be applied to icons which depict Christ. A rejection of the portrayability, visibility, and tangibility. The Incarnation would thus prove to be a myth and *dokesis* (appearance, pretext, fraud) and there would have been no salvation. For this reason, the icon has a very close relationship with the mystery of the salvation; the icon serves as a means towards the profession and acquisition of salvation in Christ. The portrayal of the one hypostasis of Jesus Christ "in the human form" is a mark of the profession and experience of Salvation. Canon

⁴Gregory the Theologian *Ad Cledonium*, Ep. 101; PG 37.181C.

82 of the Council in the Trullo (691), which sets out the rules for the production and the worship of the icon of Christ, our God, adds rightly that through the icon we "will comprehend the depth of humility in the Word of God, and will be reminded of his life in the flesh as well as his passion, and his death which brought salvation and the redemption, which arose out of it for the World." Iconographic representation is a proof of belief in Christ and his earthly life. It gives emphasis to the soteriological truth that "the Word is made flesh and has lived amongst us, and we have seen Its glory" (Jn 1.14).

Not only the icon of Christ, but also the icons of the Mother of God and the saints serve the mystery of the salvation, in that salvation was actually bestowed by Christ, and the holy Mother of God and the saints are already participants in this salvation. The Virgin Mary and the saints represent an undeniable authority and witness to the salvation in the life of the Church, and their icons are a direct and vivid manifestation of the salvation that was experienced. This is no theoretical and abstract manifestation, nor is it the manifestation of philosophical truths and axioms, but an existential affirmation of their life and work in Christ. For this reason, the icon breaks through the realm of aesthetics and rational knowledge, and its manifestations of a soteriological content. Because salvation is experienced in the Church — a liturgical experience, that is to say an experience of the public and communal religious life of practising Christians — the icon is directly connected with the mystery of the liturgy. "An icon can never be given meaning or significance other than that which it emanates in its proper place (that is, in the mystery of the liturgy)," especially when "even the Divine Liturgy in its entirety is itself a representation of the whole mystery of the salvation."⁵

I will go into this aspect later in more detail. It must, however, be emphasized here that the icon as an expression of the *oikonomia* of salvation ceases to be an icon and to have the significance of an icon, when it is not included in the mystery of the Liturgy. It ceases to be an icon, and becomes simple firewood or a secular painting, when it does not refer the faithful to the mystery of the *oikonomia*, and does not serve in the acquisition of divine energy and salvation.

⁵ P. Evdokimov, *L'Orthodoxie* (Neuchâtel, 1965), p. 224.

It does not matter particularly whether an icon has been painted by a professional artist, without the preparation demanded by tradition, or whether it is beautiful from an aesthetic point of view or less so. Of decisive significance is the liturgical function of the icon, whether in fact it depicts and embodies the archetype for the faithful. When the believer, or rather the whole assembly of the faithful recognizes the archetype in the icon, and offers it the respect and veneration appropriate to it, contact and a relationship to the archetype are established. In this way, a relationship is established with the source of salvation, the Holy Trinity of God. The icon, whether it is on a board, a mosaic or a wall-painting, has no value of its own because of its very existence, but its value is that it serves in the manifestation of the mystery of the salvation and brings the faithful into a relationship to the archetype and thus — and this is its main function — to God.

“The value of the icon,” writes P. Evdokimov, “is deeply bound up with the liturgical theology of realization, which clearly differentiates between an icon and a painting with a religious theme. Every work of art can be compared with a closed triangle, consisting of artist, the work itself, the onlooker . . . With its sacramental character, the icon breaks through the triangle and even its intrinsic worldliness. It shows itself to be independent from both the artist and the onlooker, in that it does not arouse emotions, but manifestly allows the introduction of a fourth element into the triangle; this is the visualization of the transcendental, which attests to its own presence. The artist disappears behind tradition, which alone has the say here; the work of art becomes a source of presence, of a theophany (that is, an appearance of God), before which it is impossible to remain an onlooker — one has to worship it . . .”⁶

The icon actually demonstrates and conveys, in the same way as the corresponding message of the Gospel, the Word of God made flesh and his salvation. This will become clearer through the following remarks concerning the didactic significance of the icon.

The Icon as a Source of Teaching Material and Means of Expression of the Hierarchy of Liturgical and Theological Values in the Orthodox Place of Worship

In view of the significance of the icon where the mystery of the

⁶ Ibid. pp. 222-23.

oikonomia is concerned — a significance which has been established in my discourse so far — we can now proceed to a more factual description of the role of the icon in liturgical life.

Our point of departure could be the correspondence between icon and the written word. Here, the icon is simply one of the more developed forms of the ancient Christian symbols. Such symbols, which are found primarily in the catacombs and on sarcophagi — for example, there is the symbol ΙΧΘΥΣ (fish), the anchor, or the more developed representations such as the Good Shepherd, Daniel in the lion's den — clearly demonstrate to the onlooker their connection with the holy Scripture and the redemption of man which is described therein. In their own way, these symbols express the work of salvation; they refer to the person of the Savior and to the soteriological dimension of his work. They recall the contents of the holy Scripture, for which they provide both a commentary and an illustration. It is therefore no coincidence painting which partly replaces or extends these symbols is primarily of a narrative character. Scenes which are described in the Bible become the subject-matter of painting and graphic narrative. This is what is normally known as historical painting (*historienmalerei*). In this case, painting teaches us about the holy Scriptures by means of analogy. Until the middle of the fourth century, icons are almost exclusively of this commentative and didactic character. Veneration of the icon is met mainly in the period afterwards.

It is often said that icons have a didactic function for Christians of the West, while for those in the East they have another, "deeper" significance. This thesis is untrue. It ignores the teachings of the Church. In the Orthodox Church too, icons have never ceased to be an educational aid. It will suffice here to provide two characteristic opinions expressed by important ecclesiastical teachers. Both are very authoritative and were also frequently cited by later Fathers of the Church and Christian authors. Basil the Great compares the work of the λογογράφος (writer of words, stories, histories) with that of the ζωγράφος (painter) and places both on the same level. "For," as he remarks, "that which words contribute to story-telling through the power of hearing is offered in silence by painting, through imitation."⁷ Art conveys the same as story-telling; this means that, like

⁷ Basil of Caesarea, *Homily 19*, PG 31.509A. Cf. also Theodor Nikolaou, "Die

words themselves, painting has a didactic function. The difference lies in the fact that words achieve this function through being heard, while painting achieves it "in silence" by offering an optical representation. The didactic goal is thus achieved by both the story-teller and the painter, in that both recall an event and thus stimulate the onlooker or listener to "imitation," as Basil himself states at the same point in his discourse.

Gregory the Theologian⁸ also emphasizes the educational significance of painting and describes the icons as "μέγα μνήμης ἐμπύρευμα (a great means of jogging the memory, literally "fuel to set the memory aflame"). This expression is later taken over by John of Damascus, who regards the icon "of the one that was made visible in the flesh as a fuel for the memory."⁹ Elsewhere he remarks: "We set up his visage (i.e. that of Christ) everywhere for perception by our senses, and hallow the first of the senses — for this is the power of sight — as we hallow the power of hearing through the Word. For the icon is a source of memory (ὁπόμνημα). And what the book is for everyone who is brought to recollection through the letters therein, the same is the icon for the uneducated. What the spoken word is to our power of hearing, the same is the icon to our power of sight. We establish a union with the icon, however, in a spiritual way."¹⁰ Just as writings remind the reader, thus also the icon reminds the observer of a concrete soteriological event. The function of imparting instruction is and remains the prime objective of the icon. By fulfilling this function, the icon plays its part, just as the writings in the Scriptures, "in the true and proper divine service" (λογικὴ λατρεία: Romans 12.1), the uplifting of the spirit and the unity with the true Word and its redeeming energy. Thus the Damascene adds at the same juncture that the icon leads to "the recollection of divine energy."

I consider it unnecessary here to mention further evidence from patristic tradition. Paramount among such evidence is undoubtedly

Kunst und ihr erzieherischer Wert bei den Drei Hierarchen [Basilios d. Gr., Gregor V. Nazianz und Joh. Chrysostomos], *Θεολογία* 20 (1979) 14f.

⁸ Gregory the Theologian, *Oration* 24; PG 35.1172B.

⁹ John of Damascus, *De Imag.*, 1, 22. PG 94.1256A.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 1.17; PG 94.1248C.

the decision of the Seventh Ecumenical Synod, which incidentally is just as clear and unambiguous on this question: "For the more often the icons (of Christ, the Mother of God, the angels and the saints) are seen, the more the observer (of such pictures) will be stimulated to recollect the archetypes and to feel a longing (for them)."¹¹ The icon is a type of "optical Gospel." It reminds the observer of the Word made flesh and its salvatory role and awakes in him the wish to achieve salvation in Christ.

Because of this general and deep didactic significance of the icon, the Orthodox Church holds the iconographic decoration of places of worship to be necessary and beneficial. Through the icon, however, the church is not only addressing itself to the uneducated, but to all the faithful without exception, be they clerics or laymen. The views about icons which found expression in the "Bible of the Poor" (*Biblia pauperum*) developed in the Western Church in the Middle Ages certainly emanated from a separation of laymen from the clergy and thus lessened the educational significance of the icons, in that their use was limited to laymen as "the poor in spirit." The Orthodox view states that the icon stimulates both the learned and the uneducated to "a recollection of the archetypes and a longing" for them. This is why Theodore of Studios stresses: "Just as every perfect (Christian), even when he is a holder of apostolic office, needs the Gospel, so also is he in need of a iconographic representation of the same."¹²

The inscriptions on the icons also underline their role as an educational aid for all the faithful in the Orthodox Church, without exception. These legends are aimed directly at instruction and information, whether they simply indicated the name of the saint depicted on the icon and thus make recollection of his blessed work easier, or whether they embody a quotation from the Scriptures.

The highest degree of the educational relevance of icons can be felt most emphatically in the churches which have been decorated by icons. On the one hand, the choice of iconographic themes and their arrangement in Orthodox Churches clearly indicate that the

¹¹H. Denzinger — A. Schömetzer, *Enchiridion Symbolorum et Definitionum* (Freiburg, 1965), p. 138.

¹²Theodore of Studios, Ep. 2, 171; PG 99.1537D.

educational function of the icons has been preserved undiminished throughout the course of time, while on the other hand they serve as a means to a further theological and didactic goal. This has to do with a theological and didactic synthesis, in which several constant and inexchangeable elements can be recognized.

This synthesis expresses the hierarchy of values in the mystery of the *oikonomia*, in the way that it is experienced and believed in by the Church. This is the reason why, for example, the representation of our Lord is found on the right side of the middle entrance of the iconostasis, thus reminding and instructing the faithful that he is the "the door," and "whoever passes through will be saved" (Jn 10.9), just as he is the "light" (Jn 12.35,46), "the way, the truth, and life" (Jn 14.6). The representations of the well-known Dodekaorton on the iconostasis, a selection of the twelve most important events in the life of Jesus (or the icons of the twelve apostles), are also part of this synthesis and are a pertinent commentary on the mystery of the salvation. The hierarchy of the liturgical and theological values in the iconography is made more impressive through the icon of the Pantokrator, the almighty Lord, depicted in the dome of the church. "Through his appearance in the high vault of the dome, the middle of the cruciform building that is the church seems to deepen and stretch away into infinity, as if to express that the central point of the Cross is the triumph of the Resurrection, that its nature and depth is the victor over death, the everlasting Lord. He it is who lives in heaven and looks down upon earth, the immortal King of All, before whom 'all in heaven, on the earth and beneath the earth will bend their knee' (Phil 2.10). The dome is indeed a Byzantine symbol of heaven, and the Pantocrator especially is 'both Father and Son,' an expression of the dogma of consubstantiality (*homousion*) . . . He is the Creator, the Savior, the Judge."¹³

The central position of Mary, the Mother of God in the plan of salvation is not only attested to by her icon (mostly with Christ in

¹³K. Kalokyris, *Ἡ ζωγραφικὴ τῆς Ὁρθοδοξίας* (Thessalonike, 1972), pp. 125-26. Kalokyris' last remark must not lead us to the assumption that the icon of the Pantokrator stops being an icon of the Son or that the persons of the Son and the Father are confused because of the dogma of consubstantiality. The icon in general, especially in its theological-didactic function, does not refer to the indescribable substance of God but to the mystery of salvation.

her arms) left of the middle entrance to the iconostasis, but furthermore and particularly so in the representation of the "Platytera" (the one who is greater, more comprehensive and all-embracing than heaven) in the apse of the chancel. Just as the apse joins the dome, the symbol of heaven, with the rest of the church, which represents the earth, thus the icon of the Platytera in this place bears witness to the theological truth that the Mother of God unites "what is above with what is below" and is "a heavenly ladder, by which God descended to earth." She conceived him who is beyond comprehension even by heaven.

The hierarchy of the liturgical and theological values of the church is also served by further established subject matter in Orthodox iconography, as for example the representation of the four Evangelists on the main pillars which support the dome and symbolize the enduring, supportive meaning of the Word of God for the church, or the representation of John the Baptist next to the icon of Jesus Christ on the iconostasis. "What is taught by means of the Liturgy, through the hymns of the church and through the Word from the pulpit, is commented upon in an excellent manner through the silence emanating from the iconography."¹⁴

The Icon as an Expression of Liturgical Life

It has been stated that the iconographic decoration of the churches is seen as being very beneficial and theologically necessary from the Orthodox point of view, and that the educational significance of the iconography is so great that it is compared with that of the Gospel. This does not mean, of course, that the completion of the sacraments and in particular that of the sacrament of the holy Eucharist is not possible without icons. I make this observation now, because there are western theologians who concern themselves with Orthodox theology and are of the opinion that: "In contrast to the Mass of the Catholic Church, icons are necessary to the practice of the Liturgy in the Eastern Church."¹⁵ It is correct that icons are a desirable element where the fulfilment of the holy Liturgy is concerned, and have

¹⁴Ibid. p. 124.

¹⁵K. Onasch, "Ikone," *Taschenlexikon Religion und Theologie*, (Göttingen, 1971), 2, p. 73.

their organic place in the liturgical mystery. But the whole life of the Church is a life of grace and truth in Christ. This means that "the shadow of the Law has passed"; we serve the spirit of grace, which is life-giving, and not the letter of the Law, which kills (2 Cor 3.6). There are no juridical limitations of this kind in the Orthodox Church. At least, I do not know of any. Furthermore, there are enough examples in the diaspora to prove what has just been said. The point of view that icons are "necessary" to the fulfilment of the holy Liturgy also puts a misinterpretation upon the deeper meaning of the liturgical life of the church.

This arises out of the definition of liturgical life, which is the spiritual offering of prayer by members of the Church and their participation in Christ's salvation. Liturgical life includes all the religious ceremonies of the Church, where the life and work of Christ are actualized and visualized, and in which participation is invited. It encompasses all the sacraments and services of holy worship and communal prayer in the church, inasmuch as "*leitourgia*" refers to the work of the people — a work which is carried out by the community of the faithful and is also directed at them. When the word "liturgy" is sometimes used for the holy Eucharist, it does not mean that liturgical life is concerned wholly and exclusively with the fulfilment of the holy Eucharist. Liturgical life encompasses the whole life of the faithful, and this means their private life too, or rather their private prayer. The main characteristic of the liturgical life of the church is that the individual does not exist for himself, but as a part of the community of the Church. By this he does not become a single, anonymous person, one among a mass of people, but he becomes instead a definite organic member of a body. All members of the body have their own special value and particular mission. In liturgical practice, the community and harmony of the constituent members of the whole body can clearly be seen. Thus "I" gives way to the liturgical "we." It is most noteworthy that even in private prayer, the believer expresses himself as a part of a whole, as a member of the body of the church. The Lord's Prayer, given to us by Christ himself, is proof of this. God is not isolated from the individual, but addressed as the Father of all men; the request to "Give *us* this day *our* daily bread" or to "Forgive *us our* trespasses" and to "deliver *us* from evil" is a request on behalf of all the faithful. Private prayer cannot be regarded independently from communal, public prayer. On the contrary, it is on the one hand the essential supplement and the natural sequel

to communal prayer, and on the other it is both the prerequisite and the necessary preparation for it. The spiritual offering of prayer as an intrinsic element of liturgical life constitutes the realization of Saint Paul's admonishment that we should "pray incessantly" (1 Thes 5.17). The currency of this summons does not cease with communal prayer, but is meant to reach out across prayer itself into "the secret sphere" (Mt 6.6) and permeate all areas of the life of the faithful.

In both private and communal prayer, man transports himself from a fragmentary individuality into the community of the church. As stated previously, he becomes a member of a body, of which Christ is the head. The members of the body of Christ are not only the actual community of the faithful, but also the most holy Mother of God, the invisible powers of heaven, the prophets, apostles, the saints, the martyrs and "each devout see," and all brethren and sisters "who in the hope of the Resurrection, eternal life and community" have fallen asleep with the Lord, as is written in the Liturgy. The presence of Christ, the Theotokos and the saints in the liturgical life of the church is indicated, among other ways, by their icons, since an icon, according to the classic definition by John of Damascus "is a likeness (ὁμοίωμα) . . . , which shows something that has been portrayed therein."¹⁶ Its actuality is not of a theoretical or imaginary nature. It is perceived through the senses, through the faculty of sight. In this way, the whole person takes part in the liturgical life of the church. This participation corresponds to the nature of the human being, who consists of logical soul and body, and Christ not only gave him the salvation of the soul, but also of the body, which will be resurrected along with the soul. The Fathers of the Church rightly differentiate between the "sensuous comprehension" (αἰσθητὴ θεωρία) and the "spiritual contemplation" (πνευματικὴ θεωρία). The icons, as all the other material objects of religious life (incense, candles, oil lamps, holy water, water for baptism, liturgical equipment, etc.) do not only mean salvation of the matter, but they mainly, though in various ways, have a role to play in the "sensuous comprehension." The human being "cannot immediately rise up onto the plane of spiritual con-

¹⁶John of Damascus, *De imag.* 3, 16; PG 94.1337A. Cf. also Theodor Nikolaou, *Die Ikonenverehrung als Beispiel ostkirchlicher Theologie und Frömmigkeit nach Johannes von Damaskos*, *ostkirchliche Studien* 25 (1976) 147 ff.

templation and needs things which belong to or are related to that level and will lead him up to it."¹⁷ Thus he reaches "the spiritual contemplation . . . by means of sensuous comprehension."¹⁸

When we look at the icons of Christ and the saints, whether they are "in the secret sphere" in the corner of our home devoted to icons, or in the church itself, we are reminded of and led to the archetypes whose spiritual presence we experience. We absorb ourselves in the mystery of the salvation and pray to the one true God, who also gave redemption to the saints.

The veneration or relative form of worship (τιμή, also σχετική or τιμητική προσκύνησις) which is offered to the icons and which differs from the form of real worship (λατρεία, oder, λατρευτική προσκύνησις) offered to God alone, is first of all an expression of the joining in of the prayers of every believer in the liturgical life of the Church. Thus it is not directed at the material substance of the icon or even the icon itself, but to the archetype it represents. The statement by Basil the Great, that "the honor afforded to the icon is carried over to the archetype,"¹⁹ is surely well-known. Veneration of icons which is understood and practised in this way makes the archetype a living member of the Church. Thus, the archetype takes part in the liturgical life of the Church. Secondly, the veneration and relative worship not only of icons but also of the saints has itself only one final justification: its ultimate connection with God. The veneration afforded to icons is channelled into worship of the true God. For it is he who made the archetypes represented by the icons his friends, and looked with favor upon them. Only this last fact justifies the veneration of icons and the saints depicted in them. If this last factor were absent, then the worship which is due to God alone would be carried over from the creator to his creation, the icon — which would then become a graven image.

We can follow this participation of the saints and the whole Church in liturgical life more closely in the services of worship and especially in the fulfilment of the Holy Eucharist. The latter, which is "the highest fulfilment in life" and the "summit of goodness," as Nikolaos

¹⁷John of Damascus, *De imag.* 3, 21; PG 94.1341A.

¹⁸Ibid. 3.12; PG 94.1336B.

¹⁹Basil of Caesarea, *The Holy Spirit* 18; PG 32.149C.

Kabasilas²⁰ calls it, allows us to get to know liturgical life in its most complete form more easily. Christ offers the holy Eucharist, and he is at the same time that which has been offered. The congregation of the faithful offers in turn what belongs to Christ ("Thine own of Thine own we offer to Thee"). The whole holy Eucharist is a representation of the whole secret of the divine *oikonomia*; it presents the salvation of Christ. The place of worship itself, in which holy Eucharist is celebrated and liturgical life mainly takes place, is a representation of heaven, of the throne of God. As part of this pictorial symphony the faithful, who "in a mystical way represent Cherubim . . . sing the Thrice-Holy Hymn of the life-giving Trinity." The faithful themselves become living icons of the single reality of God and his saints. The existence of the individual is a pictorial one; he is created "κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ" (in the image of God). He is the picture of the Word, which itself is a natural and unchanged picture of the Father. The existence of the individual is a pictorial one, because he is the picture of the picture of the Father.²¹ In the Liturgy and in the life in Christ there is the beginning of the realization of "καθ' ὁμοίωσιν" (becoming similar to God). The individual becomes a recipient of Grace, and that means that he becomes similar to God. He is transfigured and passes from the figurative to the substantial. The grace of God enlightens him and makes him a friend of God and God by grace. The Eucharist and the doxology of man are in harmony with the doxology of the angels and "those who are complete in their belief." Divine reality is open to participants in the liturgical mystery. In his encounter with the icons of the patriarchs, the prophets, the apostles and the saints, and in the harmony of his celebration of the Eucharist and doxology in the liturgical symphony, the believer enjoys a unique and wonderful experience similar to that of an embryo, when still in its mother's womb it experiences a foretaste of its life to come in the real world.

* * *

The subject "The position of the icon in the liturgical life of the

²⁰Nikolaos Kabasilas, *The Life in Christ*, 4; PG 150.581A.

²¹Cf. also Theodor Nikolaou, *Ἡ ἐλευθερία τῆς βουλήσεως καὶ τὰ πάθη τῆς ψυχῆς κατὰ Κλήμεντα τὸν Ἀλεξανδρεῖα* (Thessalonike, 1981), p. 60 f.

Church," as could be discerned beforehand, is a manifold and weighty one in theology. It combines the dynamics of icons and liturgical life, these two characteristic aspects of Christian thought and life. In its universal aspect, as a category of participation in the reality of salvation and not simply as a religious object, the icon presents the key for an in-depth examination of the mystery of the *oikonomia*, especially where Orthodox theology is concerned. And because the mystery of the *oikonomia* can be experienced in liturgical life, the icon is connected with liturgical life in the closest possible way. Through the use of icons, liturgical life achieves fulfilment. The absence of icons reduces the possibility for the faithful to experience liturgical life in its most complete form. This means an impoverishment and curtailment of the "spiritual contemplation," which is nourished by the "sensuous comprehension" and grows from it.

(Translated from German by Jill Pittinger, Dr. Phil.)

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The Reemergence of the Greek-Catholic Church in Romania Following the December 1989 Revolution

NICHOLAS K. APOSTOLA

THE RECENT POLITICAL EVENTS IN EASTERN EUROPE HAVE OPENED a question that had seemed to be on the way of becoming resolved by the natural course of history. The Eastern Catholic or Uniate¹ Churches throughout Eastern Europe have reemerged after having been suppressed, in some cases, for over fifty years. In Romania the reemergence of the Greek-Catholic Church occurred with the fall of the Ceaușescu regime and a Decree (No. 9) promulgated by the new government on December 31, 1989, abrogating Decree No. 358 promulgated in 1948 that had the effect of absorbing the Greek-Catholic Church into the Romanian Orthodox Church.² However, unlike the situation in the Ukraine, the Uniate Church was never seen, either historically or presently, as a means for resistance to a central governmental authority. Rather very much the opposite was the case. The

¹ While the term "Eastern Catholic" seems to be the one currently preferred, the terms used by both Orthodox and Eastern Catholics in Romania are alternately "Uniate" or "Greek-Catholic," each having a slight nuance of meaning even though they are usually used interchangeably. Throughout the current work I have opted for the usage current in Romania.

² "Orientări și precizări privind relațiile Bisericii Ortodoxe Române cu Cultele Religioase din România și încheierea cu Biserica Greco-Catolică aflată în curs de organizare și recunoaștere legală, ca persoană juridică și cult religios autonom în România," *Vestitorul Ortodoxiei Românești*, 1/3 (February, 1990) Supplement. This article, hereinafter referred to as "Orientări," is the official statement issued by the then Locum Tenens of the Patriarchate and the National Church Council.

Greek-Catholic Church in Romania was seen as one of the means used by foreign, i.e. Austro-Hungarian, powers to divide and eventually subjugate the native Romanian population. This is not to say that the Romanian Uniates themselves were always seen either as agents for or tools of these foreign powers. On the contrary, in all of the recent writings by the Orthodox, frequent mention is made of the historical unity of both the Orthodox and Uniate Churches on questions of national political importance such as the appeal made in 1798 to the Viennese Court signed by leaders of both churches, and the participation of the Uniates in the 1848 Marea Adunare Națională (Great National Assembly) held in Blaj that proposed the establishment of a single Metropolia and a Romanian Church "independent" of all external authorities,³ as well as other more recent events in the first part of this century that will be mentioned later.

A Brief History

The Transcarpathian or Transylvanian territory, currently a part of modern Romanian, had been the object of western Christian proselytism from the middle of the sixteenth century. First sponsored by feudal Hungarian kings who were Roman Catholic, and then later by Hungarian princes located in Alba Iulia who were Calvinists, the Romanians of Transylvania were denied any class of leaders who were not influenced by one or the other. After Transylvania had been absorbed into the Hapsburg Empire in 1688, the effort to attract the Romanians into union with Rome, promoted by Hungarian Jesuits, began in earnest.⁴ The first attempt at union was made at a Synod meeting held in February 1697 under Metropolitan Teofil of Alba Iulia. Recent scholarship questions the nature of the discussion at this Synod since no records or minutes of it are extant in Romanian. Rather there are only Latin copies of the Synod's decisions. In addition, there is a letter dated June 10, 1697 sent by Metropolitan Teofil to Cardinal Kollonich, the Archbishop of Estergom and Primate of Hungary, stating the decision of the synod for union with Rome.

³ Mircea Păcurariu, "Documentar: Pagini de istorie bisericească," *Telegraful Român*, 138/9-10 (March 1, 1990), 4. Hereinafter referred to as "Pagini."

⁴ Micea Păcurariu, "Adevăruri care nu se cunosc," *Telegraful Român*, 138/5-6 (February 1, 1990), 1. Hereinafter referred to as "Adevăruri."

However, evidence suggests that the signature of Teofil appearing on this document had been falsified. This letter followed a March 21, 1697 "Declaration of Union" supposedly sign by Teofil and agreeing to the four principle points of difference: papal primacy, unleavened bread, the filioque, and purgatory. However the original of this text has never been found and the Romanian copies extant are full of Latinism (such as *missa* for *Liturgy* and *Archdeacon* for *Protopop*) that would not have very likely been used by Teofil or the other Romanian clergy who had no knowledge of Latin.⁵ After Teofil died in the summer of 1697 it was left to his successor, Atanasie Anghel, to resolve the matter.

Urged on by the Emperor Leopold and Cardinal Kollonich, the Jesuits in Transylvania began to press harder to bring the Romanians into union with Rome. Further historical evidence that there had been no union under Metropolitan Teofil was the fact that his successor Atanasie Anghel had gone to Bucharest to be ordained as Metropolitan of Transylvania. Also, there was a felt need on the part of the Jesuits in Transylvania and the Austro-Hungarian authorities for some further affirmation of union. There appeared a "Declaration" or "Charter of Union" dated October 7, 1698 considered by Uniates as the official act of union.⁶ The first page of the document is written in Romanian and outlines a simple agreement of union with the Orthodox maintaining all essential elements of their faith. The second is written in Latin, but the Latin text does not correspond to the Romanian. It goes into great detail, conceding all of the major theological points. Pages three through five have the signatures and seals of thirty-eight protopops. On page five is a codicil written in Romanian and in the hand of Metropolitan Atanasie (but without his signature) that says, in part:

We unite in this manner . . . that for us and our descendants we will not budge from the traditions of our Eastern Church, but all the ceremonies, feasts, fast periods, as we have kept them up until now so into the future including being free to follow the old calendar.

⁵ Mircea Basarab, "Uniatismul în persepectiva dialogului teologic dintre Biserica Romano-Catholică și Biserica Ortodoxă," *Renașterea* (München) 14/1-2 (January-June, 1990), 9-10.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 16.

And thus do we unite who have signed above, with all our law, our Ecclesiastical service and calendar, Liturgy and fasts and the right to stay where we are, and if we do not stay here then neither will these affixed seals have any power over us.⁷

It is important to point out that Metropolitan Atanasie's signature or seal appears nowhere in the document. From contemporary reports Atanasie protested that he had not changed faiths at all. He is quoted by a certain Protopop Mihai of Călata as declaring that "he is better ready to die than to change the religion, and to pray for the Pope of Rome."⁸ Atanasie was finally summoned to Vienna in 1701 on charges made by the Jesuits of opposing the union. There he was forced to make a public declaration of union on April 7, 1701. It comprised sixteen points, but its structure was very confused. During the course of the proceedings it was apparent that Cardinal Kollonich, who sat as judge, saw the act of union as a concession on the part of both Rome and the Emperor and as not reflecting the desire of the Romanian people. Atanasie, for his part, was forced to accept re-ordination as both priest and bishop. From the position of Metropolitan of Transylvania he became a simple bishop under Hungarian primacy. He was also assigned a Jesuit assistant who it seems became the real authority, and forbidden to any longer have relations with the Metropolitan of Bucharest.⁹ The sad history of Atanasie Anghel ends when upon his death the cathedral and metropolitan's residence in Alba Iulia were destroyed to the foundation. His successor, Ioan Patachi, was not appointed until eight years later, the diocese being run in the mean time by Jesuit "directors."¹⁰

From what can be gleaned from both extant documents and contemporary witnesses, it would seem that the process of union was viewed by the Romanians as submission to Austro-Hungarian authority. Since Transylvania, by the Treaty of Carolvitz, had passed into Hapsburg hands, the Romanian majority had no choice but to accept

⁷ *Telegraful Român*, 138/9-10 (March 1, 1990), 4. All of the sources used for this article are in Romanian. This and all other translations are those of the author.

⁸ Basarab, p. 25.

⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 30-32.

¹⁰ Adevăruri, p. 2.

this new reality. This is the only way that the Union can be explained. In all of the documentation presented there is no evidence that the Union had been the action of a synod, as was the normal custom, even though there were synods held during this period. Nor is there evidence that this was the will of the majority of the people. In fact the evidence is very much to the contrary. In spite of the fact that the Orthodox Church under Austro-Hungarian control was deliberately kept without leadership for long periods of time, there was no popular ground-swell to leave the Orthodox Church. Even those persons, such as Atanaasie Anghel, who finally agreed to the union, did so under duress and as a subjugated people. Atanasie Anghel submitted to Austro-Hungarian authority as the Metropolitan, that is to say the leader, of the Romanian people in Transylvania.

Without going into great detail about the oftentimes violent history of Transylvania during the period of Austro-Hungarian occupation, two events bear telling. The first involves military action against the Orthodox. Between 1761 and 1762, upon the order of General Nicolae Adolf Bukow, the commander of the Imperial troops in Transylvania, approximately 200 schetes and monasteries were destroyed, either being burned to the ground or similarly razed, since they were considered centers of Orthodox resistance in Transylvania. The same Bukow said that during that period there were 128,635 Orthodox families in Transylvania while the Uniates numbered 25,223. In spite of this 515 Orthodox churches were turned over to the Uniates.¹¹

The second refers to Orthodox Church administration. The Orthodox Church in Transylvania was left without any leadership up until 1761 when the Viennese were finally forced by the Orthodox population to appoint, in succession, four Serbian bishops for the Romanians. It was not until 1864, under the leadership of Metropolitan Andrei Şaguna, that the Orthodox Metropolitia of Transylvania, now centered in Sibiu, was reestablished, having been dissolved in 1701 with the ordination of Atanasie Anghel.¹²

In short Uniatism in Romania can be characterized as the work

¹¹Adevăruri, p. 2.

¹²Ibid. For a thorough history of this period, in English, see: Keigh Hitchens, *Orthodoxy and Nationality: Andreiu Şaguna and the Rumanians of Transylvania, 1846-1873*, (Cambridge, 1977).

of foreigners: Jesuits and the Viennese Court. This is how one can explain repeated attempts by Romanian faithful and priests to return to the Orthodox Church: during the uprising of Sofronie of Cioara (1759-1761); in 1798 when both the Uniate and Orthodox leaders of the Romanian Church asked to be united; when the Great Assembly in 1848 set out to establish one Metropolis and an "independent" Orthodox Church; when, in 1918, Vasile Suci, the newly elected but not yet ordained Metropolitan of Balj (the Uniate See), proposed to be elected for all the Romanians of Ardeal (Transylvania). However, the most dramatic attempt for union came on February 27, 1939. On the Monday following the Sunday of Orthodoxy, both Metropolitans concelebrated a Te-Deum (Thanksgiving) service in the Cathedral in Alba Iulia, after which they made their way to the Piața of Mihai Viteazul where a podium had been erected. In front of a crowd reported to have been in excess of fifty thousand, the two Metropolitans embraced one another and addressed those assembled. Later at the National Church Assembly held there and presided over by Metropolitan Nicolae Bălan of Sibiu (Orthodox) and Metropolitan Alexandru Nicolescu of Blaj (Uniate), an agreement for union was signed by all those present. However, before the work of the assembly was finished, Metropolitan Alexandru Nicolescu fell ill and had to leave. He later died in 1941 and another Uniate Metropolitan was never appointed to replace him. Unfortunately, the outbreak of World War II and the lack of leadership in the Uniate Church prevented the agreement from being implemented.¹³ At the end of the War, the question became moot when the Communists assumed power and promulgated Decree 358 on December 2, 1948 ordering the appropriation of Greek Catholic Church property.

The Reemergence of the Greek-Catholic Church

This second chapter of the Greek-Catholic Church in Romania opens with the fall of the Ceaușescu regime and the relegalization of the Greek-Catholic Church in Romania. However, in some ways the

¹³Metropolitan Nestor of Oltenia, "Pentru refacerea unității Bisericii Străbune — Momentul: Alba Iulia, 27 Februarie 1939," *Vestitorul Ortodoxiei Românești*, 2/15-16 (1-30 August 1990), 6-16. This article is an extract from a larger work on the subject which is presently in the process of being published.

seeds of its 1948 dissolution date back to the Concord signed by the Romanian King and the Vatican in 1927 and ratified in 1929.

Article 22 of the 1923 Constitution made provision for the existence of two "Romanian" Churches: one Orthodox, the dominant one since it was the religion of the majority of the citizenry, and the Greek-Catholic (Uniate). The 1928 law regulating religion ("cults," in the Romanian usage) made provision for eight historical religions in Romania, along side the Orthodox Church: Romanian Greek-Catholic (Uniate); Roman Catholic (Latin, Greek-Ruthenian, and Armenian Rites); Reformed (Calvinist); Evangelical Lutheran; Unitarian; Armenian Apostolic; Judaism; and Islam.¹⁴ However, all of these churches, except for the two "Romanian" Churches, were for the minority nationalities found in Romania.

The Concord signed by the King and the Vatican on May 10, 1927 and ratified by the Parliament in 1929 altered the autonomous status of the Romanian Uniate Church. Article 1 of the Concord says: "The Apostolic Roman Catholic faith, regardless of rite, may be practiced and exercised freely and in public throughout the Romanian Kingdom."¹⁵ Article 2, however, describes a restructuring of the hierarchy of the Uniate Church,

the intention of which can clearly be seen as the Catholicization of the Romanian Uniate Church in violation of the Constitution in effect at that time (1923), that recognized the existence of an autonomous Romanian Uniate Church. This very same Concord made provisions for the Roman Catholic Church, in which was included the Romanian Uniate or Greek-Catholic Church as a Roman Catholic Church of the Greek rite, and the possibility of this Church being directed from Rome (under the jurisdiction of the Holy See). This integration of the autonomous Romanian Uniate Church (cf. Art. 22 of the 1923 Constitution) into the western Roman Catholic Church, as a Greek rite of this Church was accomplished without the consent or agreement of the faithful and clergy of the Romanian

¹⁴Ioan N. Floca, "Documentar: Aspecte ale relațiilor Bisericii Ortodoxe Române cu grupul de Episcopi și Ordinari care ridică pretenții și revindicări patrimoniale," *Telegraful Român*, 138/9-10 (March 1, 1990), 3. Hereinafter referred to as "Aspecte."

¹⁵Orientări, p. 1.

Uniate Church.¹⁶

The eventual dissolution of the Greek-Catholic Church that took place in October of 1948 was preceded by the annulment of this 1927 Concord on June 11, 1948 by Decree No. 151. By annulling the Concord, the new Romanian government was, in effect, reestablishing the autonomous Uniate Church. It was this autonomous Uniate Church that, on October 21, 1948, decided, in the words of the Official Statement of the Romanian Orthodox Church, "to return to the bosom of the Mother Church, [and] the Holy Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church received them and co-sanctified their desire to return to the bosom of our ancestral Church, the Romanian Orthodox Church."¹⁷

While keeping in mind the efforts of the new Communist government to control all activity in Romania, and especially religion, it is also clear that from the Orthodox perspective and from the perspective of the majority of Uniates who also agreed to renounce the 1927 Concord, that the issue was the autonomous status of the Uniate Church. For those Romanians who agreed in 1697/1700 to unite with Rome, this unity consisted in being an "autonomous" Romanian Church in communion with Rome, in the Orthodox understanding of sister churches. For Rome, the Romanians could maintain this perspective as long as the political authority remained Roman Catholic, that is to say Austro-Hungarian. With the defeat and subsequent dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the end of World War I, and the return of Transylvania to greater Romania, there was no longer any Roman Catholic political control over the Romanian Uniate Church, hence the need for the 1927 Concord. This Concord replaced the political authority of the Austro-Hungarian Empire with the ecclesiastical authority of direct control by the Holy See. Thus the resistance to the Concord on the part of both Uniate and Orthodox Romanians and the agreement for union reached in 1939 in Alba Iulia.

There were Uniates who did not agree to the 1948 renunciation of the Concord and the subsequent reunion with the Romanian Or-

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Ibid.

thodox Church. However, they neither afforded themselves of the opportunity provided by Decree 177/1948 to register, that is to say incorporate, themselves as a recognized faith (cult) by the new People's Republic of Romania. They chose to seek refuge in the officially recognized Roman Catholic Church (Latin rite). Some of these Uniate clergy remained clergy within the Latin rite church. Others left the priesthood and took up secular occupations. It is elements from this minority of the Uniate population, who did not agree to the 1948 reunion, who are making the claim for the restitution of all of the confiscated Uniate Church property.

On January 24, 1990 a meeting took place at the Ministry of Cults (Religion) to discuss the reestablishment of the Greek-Catholic Church. Those in attendance were: Vice Prime Minister Gelu Voican-Voiculescu, Minister of Cults Nicolae Stoicescu, Metropolitans Antonie of Ardeal and Nicolae of Banat, and the as yet to be recognized Greek-Catholic Metropolitan Alexandru Todea. The agreement reached according to the official communique from the Ministry was:

1. The Greek-Catholic Church requests the permission to legally incorporate;
2. Until it is legally incorporated, in a month or two, the clergy and the faithful are to have explained to them calmly and in a Christian spirit which of the two options they can choose: to remain Orthodox — as were their forebearers — or to become Greek-Catholics (Uniates);
3. In the final phase — after the approximate number of Orthodox and Uniate faithful has been determined — the redistribution of Churches and parish houses will take place, in proportion to the number of faithful of each parish. The redistribution will be administered by a mixed commission in the presence of local governmental officials.¹⁸

The communique was signed by Prof. Nicolae Stoicescu, the then Minister of Cults. Following this meeting, there appeared in the local newspaper *Dimineața* the text of a telegram addressed to Minister Stoicescu from Fr. Todea. In it he takes issue with Stoicescu concerning the conclusion of the January 24th meeting. He says in part:

¹⁸*Vestitorul Ortodoxiei Românești*, 1/3 (February, 1990), 4.

At your request I came to your office and requested the restitution of all that had been taken from us, especially the restitution of Churches, that belonged to us and now have returned to us through the abrogation of Decree 358/1948. All those who were with you in your office, without me having known of this, including yourself, wanted the restitution effected according to the number of faithful. The conclusion was my meeting with the other bishops and ordinaries. That which was published in the *Telegraful Român* . . . concerning my desire for the truth, and that I am for a spirit of justice, harmony and good-will is all accurate. However everything else is false, especially how the Romanian Uniate Church was persecuted from 1948 until 1989. It does not correspond to the truth. I take strong issue with what was published and very much regret that you and Mr. Voican-Voiculescu have put yourselves at the disposition of a Church that betrayed its people in the difficult moments of our history, as you proved in the attitude that you have toward this Church that you call the Church of the nation. Similarly I regret how you have said that . . . in many places our persecuted Church has more prelates than parishioners. To this I give you the following response. We will celebrate services there where demonstrations are allowed, and I ask you to come and count bishops and faithful. And there where there are more hierarchs than faithful, please shoot them down with a machine-gun or any other weapon you might have.¹⁹

Mr. Stoicescu responded by saying that in the first place the meeting had been held at Todea's request. Secondly, that even though no attempt had been made as yet to legally incorporate the Uniate Church, he had made claims on behalf of the Uniates for property. He further said that the meeting had come to the following conclusions for a three phased plan to reestablish the Greek-Catholic Church:

1. Legalization, that is to say the abrogation of the 1948 Decree, does not automatically mean the reestablishment of the respective institutions;
2. To determine the real number of faithful belonging to this religion (cult);
3. The return of "goods" that belonged to the Greek-Catholics in

¹⁹*Telegraful Român*, 138/9-10 (March 1, 1990), 4.

accordance with the actual number of faithful.²⁰

He further said that during Communist rule everyone suffered, not just Greek-Catholics. And that if the Romanian people did not perish in the forty-five years of dictatorship and terror it was due in large part to the Church that he called a "traitor to the nation." He wondered aloud if Todea had not mistaken him for General Bukow when he suggested machine-gunning the Greek-Catholic faithful, and reminded him of the Lord's admonition to Peter that he should sheath his sword, for those who live by the sword will die by the sword. This exchange gives a sense of the depth of feelings and the nature of the arguments on both sides.

The Romanian Orthodox Church's position on the reestablishment and return of properties to the Greek-Catholic Church has been very straight forward. It is based on the need for the Greek-Catholic Church to reincorporate itself as a legal entity under Romanian law, that is both the central administrations: metropolias, eparchies, and the like, as well as local parishes. This is the manner in which both churches were incorporated under the 1923 Constitution, even before the Communist regime. This was the manner in which property was appropriated and redistributed by the government in 1948. And this is the way that both the Orthodox Church and the government see as the only reasonable and legal method to proceed. It should be noted that under the 1948 Decree (Art. 2) parish property was specifically excluded from being appropriated by the government.²¹ Generally speaking, local parish property, both capital and liquid assets, remained essentially intact, the jurisdiction of the parish now simply falling under the respective Orthodox diocese. In many villages where there had been two parishes, both church buildings became part of and maintained by the one united parish (the legal entity), served by one priest. The return of properties requested by the Greek-Catholics entails a legal decision regarding the division of goods among the claimants. Archdeacon Ioan Floca, the Professor of Canon Law at the Theological Institute in Sibiu has detailed the procedure envisioned by the Orthodox. He says:

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Orientări.

Decree No. 9 of December 31, 1989, abrogating Decree 358/1948, sets up a number of legal possibilities, of which we will mention: — the possibility of reincorporating an autonomous Greek-Catholic religion (cult) as it has been, based on the 1923 Constitution and the 1928 Religion (Cult) Law;

— this can be accomplished by following the legal procedure provided for by Art. 12, 14, and 28 of Decree 177/1948 concerning the legal recognition of autonomous religions (cults);

— on the basis of this recognition, the Greek-Catholic religion can also form administrative units at various levels, as legal entities under the provisions of Decrees 31 and 32 of 1954 and the 1924 Law governing legal entities, still in effect;

— in the event that, on the basis of written affirmation, faithful belonging to Orthodox parishes pass to the newly recognized religion, then the practical resolution of the relationship to parish assets can be addressed, in the event of litigation by local judges, on the basis of the provisions of Decrees 31 and 32 of 1954, with respect to the division of legal entities, following the principle of proportionality, which will be a function of the percentage of persons going from one religion (cult) to another, provided for by Art. 37 of Decree 177/1948.²²

He makes two additional points. The first is that simply because the 1948 Decree has been abrogated does not mean that the Greek-Catholic Church has now become a recognized legal entity. That still must be accomplished by conforming to standard legal procedures. The second is that the 1948 Decree speaks about the confiscation or appropriation of the Greek-Catholic property in terms of the effective dissolution of the Greek-Catholic Church after their leaders failed to incorporate the Church as a recognized religion (cult) according to the provisions of Decree 177/1948, choosing rather to return to the Mother Church on October 21, 1948. He further emphasizes that parish property remained with the parishioners and that in actuality the only property that was confiscated was that belonging to the central administrative units such as protopopiates and diocese. Regardless of the legal questions involved, he argues that complete restitution of properties held in 1948 cannot be accomplished by a

²²Aspecte, p. 3.

simple transfer. The forty-two years between 1948 and 1990 have produced such social, demographic, cultural, administrative, and economic changes in Romanian society that it is impossible to reconstruct the situation exactly as it was. Therefore, there must be a process to govern the redistribution of properties. The Greek-Catholic Church has to be legally constituted and then a census must be taken to determine the number of the persons desiring to identify themselves as members of this newly reconstituted church.

It is useful to keep in mind that the proposed "census" should be understood entirely in the current meaning of that word, as an identification of those who today hold to the Greek-Catholic Church currently being incorporated and recognized. It is not, in any sense, to be transformed into a kind of plebiscite. Hence, we do not see this as a referendum with the consequent legal implications, but simply as a registration of those who eventually will form the parish communities of this new religion (cult), legally recognized, based on the free decision of conscience. It cannot be forgotten that, in this regard, the fact that the determination is made by identifying the members of the parish communities, the future Greek-Catholic Church is not simply marking its boundaries. It represents, at the same time, a support for the social structure, the only thing that permits the organization of the Church to make a claim as a legal entity.²³

He argues powerfully that in the new climate of freedom no one will be or should be forced to make a decision. However, he emphasizes that in the present revolutionary situation efforts must be made to maintain social harmony and legal processes that help the society cohere, while respecting the individual's right to choose.

Implications for the Future

In an article entitled "The Spiritual Unity of our People and Freedom,"²⁴ the noted Romanian Orthodox Theologian Fr. Dumitru

²³Ibid. p. 4.

²⁴Dumitru Stăniloae, "Unitatea Spirituală a Neamului Nostru și Libertatea," *Vestitorul Ortodoxiei Românești*, 1/3 (February, 1990) Supplement.

Stăniloae²⁵ begins to lay out an argument that subsequently has been taken up by many of those Romanians writing on the topic, both Orthodox and formerly Uniate. He says that the Orthodox Christian faith is not opposed to freedom. However, like all other Christian denominations, it also fervently projects its understanding of the faith in order to attract people. The apostles did this in their attempt to attract pagans to Christianity. He continues by saying that even though the apostles and the holy fathers saw people as free this did not prevent them from pointing out false teachings and removing "heretics" from their midst. Therefore, freedom alone is not the only criterion on which to judge issues of faith. Freedom is not an ultimate good, because sometimes it can, when it is considered as such, degenerate into egotistic libertarianism, or form the basis of a rationale that justifies all sorts of personal pleasures, contributing to the dissolution of society.

He emphasizes, however, that neither should true Christian faith be imposed or maintained by force. Rather, it has always tried and continues to try to have people accept it freely. But at the same time it also tries to convince people, within their freedom, to put aside their egoism, to love the good, and to disdain value systems that would unite people according to some "great plan." In this way, "true freedom," he says, "implies a sense of responsibility for others and for yourself." Christian faith, then unites in such a way as to retain a person's freedom, while creating a bond among the people who share this faith, without creating enemies.

Christian faith presupposes a more complete communion between those who hold things in common. And this communion implies a joy for everyone living together in common and imparting an understanding of the fundamental vision of life, expressed in customs, holidays, in explaining life in the face of death, etc. This was the unity of the village. Everyone went to the same Church, prayed together one for the other, listened to the same prayers of the priest for the dead, and imparting to one another the common understand-

²⁵In addition to his many other works Fr. Stăniloae has authored a work on the Uniate issue both in Romania and as it relates to ecumenical dialog with the Roman Catholics. *Uniatismul din Transilvania: Încercare de dezmembrare a poporului român*, (Bucharest, 1973).

ing of everything heard and lived on these occasions.

But we no longer see this kind of communion between Orthodox faithful and the members of the sects. Discussions on this subject have been conducted only in a spirit of disagreement and discord. However, communion has not been totally lost with the Greek-Catholic peasants, because they were left, rather deceptively, to think that they were members of the same Church. Only the bishops, theologians, and some priests who had been indoctrinated in Catholic theology, as distinct from Orthodox, no longer interact in a spirit of unity.

Therefore, we can see how a difference in faith disintegrates the unity of a people. First is disintegrates their fundamental spirituality. Then their spiritual identity itself as a people begins to deteriorate, especially when historical events cause different ethnic populations to mix. This can even bring about an end to the Romanian nation. . . . Can we ourselves, as a small people, maintain our independence without a spiritual unity?

We should try not to lose this unity, because who knows what political difficulties the future might bring! And if we do not have this unity, what will sustain us as a distinct people?²⁶

The same sort of argument was taken up in an article²⁷ by two priests, one Orthodox and the other Uniate. They ask,

Are we that far apart, we who are brothers from the same trunk of faith and the same people? Is there such a great difference between them and us Orthodox that we cannot pray together and come to some common understanding? Must we necessarily promote discord? Isn't there another solution than for us Romanian Christians, living in the same place, to be divided into two camps? Isn't there anything else that we can do except to create tension and for each camp to harden themselves in their positions? Is this the way that it has to be? Isn't there a better way, a Christian solution to the present

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Vasile Borca and Vasile Trif, "Numai despărțiți, numai separați . . . ? Nu există altă șansă?," *Telegraful Român*, 138/11-12 (March 15, 1990), 4.

moment?²⁸

They continue by reviewing the Catholicizing differences introduced into the Greek-Catholic Church in order to distinguish it from the Orthodox, as well as recounting the history of Uniatism in Transylvania. However, their overriding concern is for the unity of both the nation and the faith. They appeal to their "brother Greek-Catholics — clergy and lay" to dialog, and to try to preserve the nation's future. They end, "Let us pray, let us fast [it was written during Great Lent], that what we do be according to the will of Christ, with pure faith penetrated by the spirit of love and unity. May God help us!"²⁹

Certainly it is difficult for those living in a pluralistic society to understand the concern for a people's unity, especially when the argument is that the primary character of that unity is faith. However, here we see an interesting phenomenon at work. The argument often raised in American Orthodoxy is that our cultural roots helped and continue to help preserve our Orthodox faith and our character as an Orthodox people. While there is an element of truth in this, the argument put forth by Fr. Stăniloae and others is that it is the Orthodox faith that has, through both the Austro-Hungarian period as well as through Communist rule, preserved the nation. This historical division of the Romanian people into two churches, accomplished by foreign powers and finally laid to rest in 1948, now threatens the unity of the Romanian nation in the name of freedom. While rejecting the use of force to maintain its position, it is, at the same time, however, pointing out the dangers the resurrection of the Greek-Catholic Church presents to the Romanian nation.

In an article entitled "Does Dialog Make Sense Any Longer?"³⁰ Bishop Damaschin Severineanul begins to wonder aloud what the implications of both the reemergence of the Greek-Catholic Church, and the Vatican's attitudes toward it will have on the Roman Catholic-Eastern Orthodox Dialog. He is reacting specifically to the news that

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Bishop Damaschin Coravu-Severineanul, "Mai are vre-un sens dialogul?," *Vestitorul Ortodoxiei Românești*, 2/6 (March 15-April 1, 1990), 4.

Pope John Paul II had named six new Roman Catholic and five new Greek-Catholic bishops for Romania without even informing and seeking the approval of the Romanian government for these appointments. This was in violation of an agreement in force between Romania and the Vatican. He says that the Orthodox hoped that Uniatism had truly been disavowed as a legitimate means to promote unity between the churches, but that these appointments threatened that hope. "We optimists among the Orthodox," he says, "are truly disappointed insofar as we hoped that the Vatican had tempered the fanatic nature of its proselytism, which is the basis of the Uniate Church and which has generated centuries of disputes and suffering between the churches. We are all conscious that the only road to unity is in brotherly dialog, with sincerity, and consequently, in good faith."³¹

The Uniate issue was the central topic at the International Roman Catholic-Eastern Orthodox Dialog held in Freising, Germany this past June. The final text of the official statement prepared by the Dialog reads in part:

The problem of the origin and existence of the Catholic Churches of Byzantine Rite has accompanied the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches since well before the commencement of their dialogue and has been constantly present from the beginning of this dialogue. The way in which they will be able to search out a solution of it together will be a test of the solidity of the theological foundation which has already been laid and which it will be necessary to develop. Because of recent events, the whole meeting has been dedicated to the study of the questions posed by the origin, the existence and the development of the Catholic Churches of byzantine Rite which are also called "Uniate Churches." . . .

The term "Uniatism" indicates here the effort which aims to bring about the unity of the Church by separating from the Orthodox Church communities or Orthodox faithful without taking into account that, according to ecclesiology, the Orthodox Church is a sister-Church which itself offers the means of grace and salvation. In this sense . . . we reject "Uniatism" as a method of unity opposed to the common Tradition of our Churches.

³¹Ibid.

Where "Uniatism" has been employed as a method, it failed to achieve its goal of bringing the Churches closer together; rather it provoked new divisions. The situation thus created has been a source of conflict and suffering, and these have deeply marked the memory and the collective consciousness of the two Churches. On the other hand, for ecclesiological reasons, the conviction has grown that other ways must be sought out.³²

The statement goes on to refer to the practical problems involved now that freedom is emerging in Eastern European countries that had suffered years of religious persecution. Further, that efforts aimed at having the faithful of one Church pass over to another (proselytism) should be rejected as a waste of pastoral energy. It remains to be seen to what extent the Commission's words will be heeded and implemented.

The history of "Uniatism" throughout eastern Europe, but especially in Romania, has been an unhappy record of violence and disruption. For the Romanian Orthodox Church it evokes memories of a people divided against itself to the advantage of alien political powers. Without a doubt it will be impossible for the Greek-Catholic Church to magically return to its pre-1948 status without taking into account the intervening forty-two years. And it certainly will be impossible for the Orthodox Church to return to its pre-1698 status, ignoring almost three hundred years of history. Time moves forward. Let us hope, however, that questions of Church unity can be settled today with more Christian love and sensitivity than they were in the past three hundred years.

³²The unpublished final text of the "Statement of the Joint International Commission for Theological Dialogue between the Roman Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church."

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The Roman Catholic Church and Orthodoxy: Twenty-Five Years after Vatican II

EMMANUEL CLAPSIS

A SYNOD IS A CHARISMATIC EVENT BY WHICH THE CHURCH EXPRESSES communally and therefore authentically her understanding of God's love for the world as it has been revealed and unfolded in history. A council by its reaffirmation of the salvific truth safeguards the unity and the integrity of the Church's faith and thus it moves the Church, the people of God, to a greater unity in truth, challenging her to be united through the Spirit of God to Christ and thus leaving behind all the elements of the world that perpetuate disunity and falsehood in God's creation and among his people.

The inspiration of Pope John XXIII to convene a council of the Roman Catholic Church in order initiate a creative dialogue between that church and the world and advance the cause of Christian unity has been considered as an act of the Holy Spirit, a Pentecostal event. Orthodox theologians welcomed the Second Vatican Council as an ecumenically significant event that promoted the unity of Christians and the reconciliation of Orthodoxy with Roman Catholicism. Some theologians were even surprised by this announcement since it was believed that with the decisions of 1870 the idea of the councils was substituted in Roman Catholicism by the infallible ministry of the bishop of Rome who had immediate jurisdiction over all faithful and thus could guide them directly and permanently in all the problems of Christian conscience in the modern world.¹ Consequently, the

*This paper was delivered at the conference: "From Dream to Reality to Vision: 25 Years after Vatican II" in Washington, D. C.

¹John Meyendorff, *Orthodoxy and Catholicity* (New York, 1966) p. 141; Nikos
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announcement of the council seemed to most Orthodox an extraordinary and surprising event. In its deliberations as well as in its decrees they discovered an effort by Roman Catholicism to recapture the ecclesiology of the patristic church. Generally Christian theologians admired the fact that the Roman Church was becoming self-critical, redefining her relations to the world, and restructuring her life in order to facilitate the unity of divided Christians.

In evaluating the decrees, constitutions, and texts of the council, we must not forget that the council itself, more than anything else was an event that signified the beginning of the theological liberation of Roman Catholicism from the consequences of its monarchical ecclesiastical structure. Even if this theological liberation did not prevail completely in the final texts of the council, no one can deny its presence in the Roman Church as the power of the Spirit that builds up and sustains its life. Taking into consideration the earth-shaking consequences of this council by which Roman Catholicism developed new interpretations or understandings of its immediate past and possibly of its ecclesial structure, one can easily understand why Vatican II, even after twenty-five years of reception, continues to be an object of intense discussions and be subjected to a variety of either progressive or conservative interpretations.²

The major task of the council was to seriously study the nature of the Church and possibly reform her structure in order to advance the cause of unity of all Christians and renew her pastoral and missionary life. From an Orthodox doctrinal and ecumenical perspective, the success or failure of the council depended upon its possible "new" interpretations of the definitions of 1870 that defined the infallibility and the immediate and truly episcopal jurisdiction over all faithful of the bishop of Rome. For this reason the majority of Orthodox theologians focus their attention on the texts that treated the rights of bishops, their collegiality in governing the Church in communion with the bishop of Rome, and the rights and responsibilities of the Papal See.

Matsoukas. "Ἡ Θεολογική καὶ Ἱστορική Σημασία τῆς Δευτέρας Συνόδου τοῦ Βατικανοῦ," *Γρηγόριος Παλαμάς* 49 (1968) p. 182.

²Walter Kasper, "The Continuing Challenge of the Second Vatican Council: The Hermeneutics of the Conciliar Statements," in his book: *Theology and Church* (New York, 1989), pp. 166-76; Avery Dulles, "Catholic Ecclesiology Since Vatican II," G. Alberigo and J. Provost (Edits.), *Synod 1985 — An Evaluation* (New York, 1986), pp. 3-13.

The guiding ecclesiology of the Second Vatican Council was the ecclesiology of communion. Its immediate effect upon the Roman Church was the emergence of new forms of common responsibility on all levels of its life. There is a deepened awareness that all the faithful, clergy, and laity are the Church. The concept of communion, according to the texts of the Second Vatican Council, does not have anything to do with questions about the Church's structure. It describes its nature or, as the council put it, its mystery. Even if the council used communion ecclesiology to describe the Church's nature such understanding would affect, sooner or later, the Church's structures despite all obstacles that might interrupt this natural process. Metropolitan Stylianos Harkianakis, reflecting on the elements of communion ecclesiology that the council introduced in its texts, stated that "Vatican Council II, succeeded in *planting* with Catholic theology an ecumenical ecclesiology."³ However, this "planting" of what was called, "ecumenical ecclesiology," did not root out the monarchical ecclesiology of Vatican I. Nikos Nissiotis very succinctly observed that the ecclesiology of Vatican II, as it was expressed in *Lumen gentium*, clearly revealed that Rome at this council attempted to reinterpret the monarchical system of government and widen it by raising the dignity of the bishops "with their head." This "head," however, remained unquestionably the juridical principle and personification of supreme authority in the Church. Thus the challenge of Vatican II was to explain papal authority in a more ecclesial and communal way than was done by Vatican I in 1870.⁴ Some Orthodox theologians, however, quickly identified in the decrees of Vatican II the reaffirmation of the basic ecclesiological tenets of Vatican Council I in order to reach the conclusion that nothing has changed in Roman Catholicism. At the same time others identified the teachings of Second Vatican Council on the collegiality of the bishops and the importance of the local churches in order to emphasize that something has changed in Roman Catholicism⁵ that could become the ground

³Stylianos Harkianakis, "The Ecclesiology of Vatican II: An Orthodox Summary," *Diakonia* 2 (1967), p. 237. For an exhaustive and critical Orthodox appreciation of *Lumen gentium* see the book of Metropolitan Stylianos: *Τὸ περὶ Ἐκκλησίας Σύνταγμα τῆς Βατικανῆς Συνόδου* (Thessalonike, 1969).

⁴Nikos Nissiotis, "The Main Ecclesiological Problem of the Second Vatican Council and the position of the non-Roman Churches facing it," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 2 (1965), p. 34.

⁵Nicholai Arseniev, "The Second Vatican Council's 'Constitutio de Ecclesia',"

for the commencement of dialogue of love leading to a theological dialogue for the ultimate unity of the two churches. Some others would advocate that in the documents of the Vatican II we can discern more than one ecclesiology which in some instances may be irreconcilable to another. However, all Orthodox theologians believe that the real significance of the decrees adopted at Vatican II would be fully revealed only through the manner in which they would be put into effect.⁶

The ecumenical sensitivity of the Second Vatican Council was graciously manifested in an unprecedented manner in its decree on ecumenism. It affirmed that while the fullness of the one, holy, catholic, and apostolic Church subsists in the Roman Catholic Church, elements and endowments of the Christian faith which "come from Christ and lead back to him" exist in the life of other Christian communions and churches not in sacramental communion with the Roman Church. Such recognition implied that such churches and communions can be recognized by the Roman Church as imperfect or nearly perfect manifestations of the one church of Christ. This declaration became the official starting point of ecumenism in Roman Catholicism. In addition to this significant development, Orthodox theologians were particularly impressed by the discovery of the local church as truly and fully the manifestation of the church of God and not simply a subdivision of the universal.⁷ In such theological developments, Orthodox theologians acknowledged the emergence of a new ecclesiological perspective that was bringing traditional Catholic ecclesiology in convergence with Orthodox ecclesiology that could lead to a development of a fuller understanding of the Universal Church as a communion of churches. However, the theology of the

St. Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly 9 (1965) 16-25.

⁶For Orthodox views on the II Vatican Council see: Maria D. Spyropoulos (ed.), *Ὁρθόδοξος θεώρησις τῆς Β'. Συνόδου τοῦ Βατικανοῦ* (Athens, 1967).

⁷In *Lumen gentium*, it is stated that the Church of Christ is "truly present in all legitimately organized local groups of the faithful, which insofar as they are united to their pastors, are also quite appropriately called Churches . . ." (para. 26). In the Decree on the Pastoral Office of Bishops the Council describes the particular church as a diocese." A diocese is a section of the People of God entrusted to a bishop to be guided by him with the assistance of his clergy so that, loyal to its pastor and formed by him into one community in the Holy Spirit through the Gospel and the Eucharist, it constitutes one particular church in which the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church of God is truly present and active" (para. 11).

local church did not define the very nature of the episcopate. The local church was considered as the framework for the exercise of episcopal functions, while the origins of the episcopate were defined exclusively by the doctrine of apostolic succession.⁸ It was encouraging, though, that the office of *episcopate*, according to *Lumen gentium* is of divine origins and is conferred by episcopal consecration, empowering the bishop with the right to sanctify, to teach, and govern.⁹ The bishops, according to the same degree, are the "visible principle and foundation of unity in their own particular Churches."¹⁰ While the three-fold power to sanctify, teach, and govern is conferred upon the bishop in episcopal consecration and comes directly from Christ, these powers cannot be exercised except in communion with the bishop of Rome and the whole body of bishops and within the limits established by the canonical mission which derives ultimately from the bishop of Rome.¹¹ Despite this canonical dependency, Vatican II insists that local bishops should not be seen as delegates or vicars of the bishop of Rome in particular churches.¹² The bishops constitute a college which in communion with the bishop of Rome, its head, has supreme authority in the Universal Church. The principle of collegiality offers a new context in which the dogmatic teachings on Papacy could be understood and developed. The council did not try to prescribe the exact norms of cooperation by which the pope and the college of bishops shared in the governance of the Latin Church. But the absence of any interdependence between the pope and the bishops deprived the texts on collegiality of much of their real value.

Theologians who have tried to interpret the council continue to

⁸Eucharistic ecclesiology acknowledges the importance of the episcopal office from its sacramental, magisterial, and pastoral ministry in a particular church. The participation of the bishop in the college of bishops signifies primarily the catholicity and the unity of the local church with the universal. It is a sign of his canonical authenticity and necessary element of his episcopal ministry but his authority is derived not from his participation in the college of bishops but from his ministry in the local church.

⁹*Lumen gentium*, para. 21.

¹⁰*Ibid.* para. 23.

¹¹*Ibid.* para. 27.

¹²"The pastoral charge, that is, the permanent and daily care of their sheep, is entrusted to them (the bishops) fully; nor are they to be regarded as vicars of the Roman Pontiff, for they exercise the power which they possess in their own right . . . (para. 27). "The bishop can exercise within his diocese the powers given to him by custom, but only if these powers have not been revoked by Rome" (para. 24).

disagree on who exercises supreme authority in Roman Catholicism and under what conditions. Some theologians have suggested that there are two inadequately distinct subjects of supreme authority in the Church: the pope and the episcopal college. According to their views, the bishop of Rome as pastor of the universal Church can decide to use his supreme power either personally or collegially. Other theologians affirmed that there is only one subject of supreme authority in the Church: the episcopal college under papal leadership which can operate in two ways: either through a strictly collegial act or through a personal act of the pope as head of the college. Thus every primatial action is or should be collegial. The same theologians, also, suggested that papal primacy is not opposed to episcopal collegiality, because it is a primacy of service, fostering the unity of the communion of churches in faith and love.

After twenty five years of introducing the principle of collegiality in the administrative structure of Roman Catholicism one is justified to raise the question of whether collegiality has realized its potential or, more appropriately, whether it has been adequately received. Some theologians believe, very justifiably in my own judgment, that the structures of the Roman Church have not yet been penetrated by the spirit of conciliarity. Patrick Granfield in his book, *The Limits of the Papacy* frankly states that:

Collegiality proves to be a promise as yet unfulfilled. First, the Church has neither sufficiently communicated this insight of Vatican II nor overcome widespread objections to it. The various bearers of authority in the Church must engage in more active fraternal interaction. Second, the Church, in its official capacity as teacher and pastor, continues to manifest a central tendency to view itself as one large diocese. Rome still considers subsidiarity and legitimate diversity as threatening. Collegiality cannot function at the diocesan level if it is not operative at the curia level. Thus, the Dutch bishops asked: 'Has the Holy See sufficiently accepted that collegiality which it demands of others?' Third, the church needs more effective structures and procedures for the exercise of collegiality on all levels, if it is to be a living reality. We have only begun the process. Fourth, the Church is still perceived, by Catholics and others as a public institution that all too often acts in a monarchical way."¹³

¹³Patrick Granfield, *The Limits of the Papacy* (New York, 1987) p. 105.

This can be seen in how the authority of the bishop of Rome is described in the 1983 Code of Canon Law, the major legislative document of Roman Catholicism.¹⁴ This Code of Canon Law does not leave any doubt that the pope has the fullness of executive, legislative, and juridical power independently or in consultation with the college of bishops. The bishop of Rome enjoys supreme, full, immediate and universal ordinary power in the Church, which he can exercise freely.¹⁵ The pope determines when and how he will exercise his primatial authority.¹⁶ The code also gives the pope broad authority over particular or local churches. He has a primacy of ordinary power over all particular churches.¹⁷ The report¹⁸ of the extraordinary meeting of the synod of bishops that Pope John Paul II called in 1985 to reflect on the council in the light of two decades of experience, did not register any significant progress beyond Vatican II.¹⁹ Some theologians have criticized this report as having hidden real and serious problems of structure and relations in the Roman Church that the pre-synodal responses of the particular churches had raised.²⁰ In any case, it is true that collegiality, even as it has been imperfectly implemented, has restored at least a theoretical balance to ecclesiology by countering the one-sided papalism of the past. It has fostered a greater recognition of the local and its role in the larger world. As a consequence of that it led to the establishment of ecclesial institutions, like the synod of bishops and the episcopal conference, to foster dialogue and accountability. Finally, it has encouraged ecumenical relations by making the papacy more acceptable to other Christians.

The Orthodox, in principle, do not reject the primacy of the bishop of Rome and the importance of his universal ministry of unity in the church of God but they have a significantly different understanding of the authority of this primacy from the way that it has been described

¹⁴Thomas J. Green, Donald E. Heintschel, eds., *The Code of Canon Law: A Text and Commentary* (New York, 1985).

¹⁵Ibid. Can. 331.

¹⁶Ibid. Can. 332.2.

¹⁷Ibid. Can. 331.1.

¹⁸Synod of Bishops, "The Final Report," *Origins* 15 (1985?), pp. 444-50.

¹⁹Avery Dulles, "A Half Century of Ecclesiology," *Theological Studies* 50 (1989) 442.

²⁰Joseph Kommonchak, "The Theological Debate," *Concilium* 188 (1986) pp. 53-63.

in the decrees of the First Vatican Council.²¹ For Orthodox ecclesiology, it is impossible for a bishop to exercise power of divine right over another bishop or over a particular community presided over by another bishop. For this reason, Orthodox theologians were greatly disappointed by the fact that the Second Vatican Council reaffirmed the teachings of Vatican I on the institution, the perpetuity, and the nature of papal primacy and its infallible teaching authority.²² Orthodox theologians, while they appreciated the spirit and the efforts of Vatican II, continue to believe that the basic obstacle to the unity of the Christian churches, the Papacy, has not become adequately charismatic and conciliar in order to be theologically justified and trusted in the exercise of its ministry in a visibly united communion of churches.²³ From this perspective they considered the agenda of the Second Vatican Council unfinished and the council itself as the beginning of a new beginning.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate, faithful to its commitment to unity and encouraged by the developments of the Second Vatican Council, conceived the renewal of the Roman Catholic Church as an honest attempt to transcend the causes of division between the two sister churches, and it took simultaneous steps with Rome for the lifting of the anathemas of 1054 hoping that visible unity would be eventually realized after the two churches have discussed exhaustively and imaginatively the differences that kept them apart from each other. Thus in 1965, at the conclusion of the last session of Vatican II, in a gesture of good will, Patriarch Athenagoras and Pope Paul VI lifted the anathemas of 1054 by which Cardinal Humbert, legate of Pope Leo IX had excommunicated Patriarch Michael Kerularios and his followers and in retaliation to this act the Patriarch had proceeded to excommunicate only "the impious document and its authors," specifically avoiding to include in his action of the bishop of Rome or the Western Church as a whole. Despite this act of good will, the Orthodox faithful remained under excommunication through numerous

²¹Emmanuel Clapsis, "Papal Primacy," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 32 (1987) 115-30.

²²*Lumen gentium*, Para. 18; In the same Decree (para.22) it is stated: In effect, the Roman Pontiff, in virtue of his office as Vicar of Christ and Pastor of the Whole Church, has full power, a supreme and universal power over the Church. And he can always exercise this power freely"; see also para. 24 and para. 25.

²³For an ecumenical discussion of Papacy, see: Peter J. McCord, ed., *A Pope for All Christians? An Inquiry into the Role of Peter in the Modern Church* (New York, 1976).

actions taken by Rome since 1054. The Orthodox do not recognize, for example, the decision of Lyons (1274), of Florence (1440), of Trent (1452-1563), of Vatican I (1870), and all these assemblies have imitated the early councils in that they conclude each of their definitions by a definite anathema against those who reject them. These anathemas, from the Roman point of view, still apply to the Orthodox, and inversely, the Orthodox continue to reject the Roman "innovations." All of Which showed clearly that the decisions of 1965 did not change anything in the canonical and sacramental relations between Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism. It only signified a moral commitment, taken by both sides, to avoid mutual slander and misunderstandings due to ignorance and to begin a dialogue on the real issues, with due respect to the other side's convictions.²⁴ Because of the many years of separation and the ill-conceived unilateral and sometimes deceiving attempts for reunion between Rome and Constantinople, the theological dialogue had to be preceded by a dialogue or rather an encounter of love between the hierarchy of Roman Catholicism and Orthodoxy.²⁵ Finally on December 14, 1975 the personal representative of the Ecumenical Patriarch, Metropolitan Meliton, announced to Pope Paul VI that a Pan-Orthodox synod had authorized the establishment of an inter-Orthodox theological commission to prepare the grounds for an "official" dialogue with Roman Church. In November 1979, Patriarch Dimitrios I and Pope John Paul II jointly declared the opening of the official theological dialogue between the Catholic and the Orthodox. The goals of this dialogue were described as "an advance towards the reestablishment of full communion between the Catholic and Orthodox sister Churches" and "a contribution to the multiple dialogues that are pursuing their courses in the Christian world as it seeks its unity."²⁶ This must be seen as an immediate result of the ecumenicity of the Vatican II and an accomplishment of the Holy Spirit that leads the People of God into unity in Christ.²⁷

²⁴Παν. Μπούμη, *Συνέπειαι τῆς Ἀγέως τῶν Ἀναθεμάτων* Athens, 1976).

²⁵E. J. Stormon (Edit.), *Towards the Healing of Schism, the Sees of Rome and Constantinople, Public Statements and Correspondence between the Holy See and the Ecumenical Patriarchate 1958-1984* (New York, 1987).

²⁶E. J. Stormon (Ed.), *Towards the Healing of Schism* (New York, 1987), pp. 367-372.

²⁷For new ecumenical relations between Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism see: Edward Kilmarirtin, *Toward Reunion: The Roman Catholics and the Orthodox*

Since 1963 Patriarch Athenagoras, Pope Paul VI in 1967, and both of them together in their common declaration at the end of the patriarch's visit to Rome in 1967 have called the Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church sister churches. From that time on, the concept of the sister churches is consistently used in official communications between the bishop of Rome and the bishop of Constantinople. One may think that this is a mere formality without any significant value. Even if we accept that it may have began as "purely protocol gesture" now we have evidence that it has been transformed into a promising ecclesiological concept that may advance significantly the unity of the two churches. In a recent meeting of a sub-working commission of the international dialogue in Vienna, the concept of the ecclesiology of the sister churches became the norm by which it was affirmed that Uniatism is not the model or the method for the unity of the two churches. Furthermore the same commission stated in its report that: "on no account should one adopt any kind of soteriological exclusivism" because according to the report "such soteriological exclusivism contradicts the ecclesiology of sister churches." Metropolitan Bartholomaios of Chalcedon in his greeting to the bishop of Rome on the occasion of the feast day of Saint Peter on June 27, 1990 emphasized that it is presently commonly recognized that the unity of Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism can only be achieved, on the basis of the model of sister churches and within the context of eucharistic and communion ecclesiology. In the same message, He rejected the past methods of unity whose consequences still adversely affect the life of two churches.

A significant step towards the recognition of the catholicity of the local churches that advances the ecclesiology of "sister churches" was the suggestion of J. Ratzinger that he made before his elevation to his present position, in which he advocated that Rome must not require more of a doctrine of primacy from the East than was formulated and experienced in the first millennium. In his opinion, "Reunion could occur if the East abandon its attacks on the Western development of the second millennium as being heretical and accept the Catholic as legitimate and Orthodox in the form which it experi-

Churches (New York, 1979); Stylianos Harkianakis, *The Orthodox Church and Catholicism* (Sydney, 19975); Theodore Stylianopoulos, "Orthodoxy and Catholicism: A New Attempt at Dialogue," *The Greek Orthodox Review* 26 (1981) 157-69; Robert Barringer (ed.), *Rome and Constantinople* (Brookline, 1984).

enced in its own development. Conversely, reunion could occur if the West recognized the Eastern as Orthodox and legitimate in the form in which it has maintained itself."²⁸ It is unfortunate that Cardinal Ratzinger has denounced the views of Professor Ratzinger and of course similar suggestions of Karl Rahner since he does not any longer believe that unity between the two churches could occur without Orthodoxy accepting the development of the second millenium as this has been experienced in the Roman Church.²⁹ Despite Ratzinger's objection, I strongly believe that the most promising and probably, the only real signs that may advance the unity of the Orthodox with Roman Catholicism can be found in the ecclesiology of sister churches. This idea of sister churches was, also, proposed by Nikos Nissiotis who addressing himself to the Orthodox stated:

It is no use expecting the concept of the papacy to change quickly or easily to an image of the Pope comparable with our image of an Eastern Patriarch as *primus inter pares* in our sense. We must understand and accept the fact that papal primacy has over the course of the Western Church's history, become a constitutive element in Roman Catholicism. What we must decide is whether we cannot still move towards communion, while accepting that that primacy is an internal affair of the Roman Church. As long as Rome does not force it upon the other churches, it can remain merely a problem for her own people, to the extent that they themselves decide to accept or reject it."³⁰

Paul Evdokimov advocates that this kind of relations between the two churches existed before the Great Schism of 1054. "The ecclesiastical self-consciousness of each part of Christendom varied in makeup and coexisted in certain *modus vivendi*. The two regimes, each one exercising its influence within its own territorial limits, were not at all incompatible with eucharistic communion."³¹ The late

²⁸Joseph Ratzinger, *Theologische Prinzipienlehre: Bausteine zur Fundamentaltheologie* (Munich, 1982), p. 209.

²⁹Joseph Ratzinger, *Church, Ecumenism and Politics* (New York, 1987), pp.81-2.

³⁰Nikos Nissiotis, "What Still Separates Us from the Catholic Church? An Orthodox Reply," *Post-Ecumenical Christianity* Edit. Hans Kung (New York, 1970), p. 31.

³¹Paul Evdokimov, "Fundamental Desires of the Orthodox Church vis à vis the Catholic Church? Hans Kung (Edit.) *Do we know the Others?* (New York, 1966), p. 70.

Patriarch Athenagoras and Pope Paul VI have introduced a model of ecclesiology whose implications for the unity of Orthodoxy with Roman Catholicism have not yet been fully explored.

The Joint International Commission for Theological Dialogue between the Roman Catholic and the Orthodox celebrates its twenty anniversary, twenty five years after the Second Vatican Council and twenty five years after the lifting of the anathemas of 1054 that made the estrangement of the two sister churches official. The dialogue already has produced significant statements of agreement on the following subjects: 1. The Mystery of the Eucharist in The Light of the Mystery of The Holy Trinity (Munich, West Germany, August, 1982); 2. Faith, Sacraments, and the Unity of the Church (Bari, Italy, August, 1987); 3. The Sacrament of Order in the Sacramental Structure of the Church (Valamo, Finland June 1988). At its 6th plenary meeting held in Freising Munich, West Germany, from 6th until 15th of last June 1990 the dialogue planned to discuss a draft document on "The Ecclesiological and Canonical Consequences of the Sacramental Nature of the Churches: Conciliarity and Authority in the Church" but instead of this its attention was occupied by the political and religious developments in Eastern Europe that already had adversely affected the relations of the two churches. It particularly discussed the consequences of the reawakening of the Eastern Rite Roman Catholic churches in Eastern Europe and their violent friction with the Orthodox churches. The agenda, also, included a discussion of a report of its sub-commission for the study of the churches of Byzantine rite united with Rome and the related problems of Uniatism and proselytism prepared in Vienna (January 26-31, 1990). The decision of the dialogue to study the problem of Uniatism and Byzantine Rite Roman Catholic churches had been taken at its last plenary meeting of the dialogue in Valamo in 1988 and therefore it did not anticipate the later developments in Eastern Europe. All the Roman Catholic members of the dialogue were present at this meeting. The Orthodox delegation was handicapped by the absence of the representatives of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, of Antioch, and of the Orthodox Churches of Serbia, Bulgaria, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. The representatives of the Russian Patriarchate arrived late because at that time they were electing their new patriarch. Most of the churches from Eastern Europe and the Patriarchate of Jerusalem did not send representatives as a protest against the aggressive proselytism that the Byzantine Rite Roman Catholics of

Uniates exercise in their continents. That was unfortunate because such issues between sister churches can only be resolved through dialogue. The Ecumenical Patriarchate, through a special visit of Metropolitan Bartholomaios of Chalcedon to all Orthodox churches, had assured each one of them that Uniatism would be discussed at this Plenary meeting of the theological dialogue. In addition the Ecumenical Patriarchate in its conciliatory attempt to preserve and continue the irenic relations with Roman Catholicism informed the bishop of Rome of the grave consequences that Uniatism could have to the fraternal relations of churches as a result of its alleged violent acts of proselytism and its unreasonable demands in Eastern Europe.

The meeting was presided by Archbishop Stylianos of Australia and Archbishop Edward Cassidy of Amantia, the president of the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity. The representatives of the Romanian Orthodox protested the consecration by Rome of five Uniate bishops advocating that they weren't needed and that their ordination reveals the intetion of Rome to organize the Byzantine Rite against the Orthodox. Furthermore they provided evidence that indicated that the Uniates demand to recover all the churches that they had before the revolution as opposed to the position of the Romanian Orthodox that the local congregation must decide for themselves whether they want to be in communion with the Romanian Orthodox Patriarchate or with Rome. Furthermore, they denounced as simplistic and evil the attempt of Uniates to suggest that the Romanian Orthodox in its entirety had collaborated with the Ceaucescu regime and therefore it should be rejected by the new democratic Romania. The Orthodox Church of Czechoslovakia sent a dramatic appeal that described the collaboration of state authorities with the Greek Catholic churches against the Orthodox. In that country the Orthodox will lose almost all their churches to the Greek Catholic. A similar situation, if not worse, exists in Western Ukraine. According to a declaration of the Holy Synod of the Patriarchate of Moscow, Rome has shown sincere efforts to resolve the conflict between the Orthodox and Eastern Catholics at Western Ukraine. In order to settle the situation a quadripartite commission consisting of the representatives of the Holy See, the Moscow Patriarchate, the Ukranian Orthodox and the Eastern Rite Catholics was formed. The commission worked in Lvov from March 8-13,1990 and it suggested ways to peacefully resolve the conflict. These suggestions, though, were denounced on March 22, 1990, by the episcopate of the Greek Catholics

of Western Ukraine as illegitimate. Following this, according to the declaration of the Patriarchate of Moscow, "the number of cases of forceful and unlawful occupations of Orthodox churches increased." "In many places the Orthodox believers are forced to pray in the streets. Tears and suffering have become an inseparable part of life for the Orthodox in Halicia. The local authorities have taken a one-sided, anti-Orthodox position instead of maintaining the law and guaranteeing the security of its citizens . . . By Easter the Orthodox could be forced to celebrate in the streets!" In addition to such testimonies, the Orthodox representatives were mindful of the previous constant protests of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem and of the Orthodox Churches of Poland and Serbia against the Eastern Rite Roman Catholic who allegedly exercised aggressive proselytism in these countries.

As a result of such developments, the dialogue reached an impasse. How could the delegates discuss fraternally the theological differences between the two churches when there is no peace or love among their faithful? The Orthodox delegation hearing such allegations and protests could not continue the theological dialogue without discussing the issue of Uniatism. This was immediately understood by the Roman Catholic delegation. Even if the Orthodox delegation continued to discuss theological matters, the conclusions of such dialogue would not be received by the Orthodox churches. The Church of Greece from the beginning of the theological dialogue with Roman Catholicism had insisted that before the dialogue begins discussing substantive theological matters, the issue of Uniatism must be resolved. But the opinion of ecumenically minded theologians prevailed which suggested that the theological dialogue between Roman Catholicism and Orthodoxy must begin by reaffirming their commonalities and not their differences. Whether the Church of Greece was right or wrong in its demand remains to be seen.

The theological weather in Munich during the discussions was cloudy with many thunderstorms and fears that the ecumenical work of twenty five years that brought the two churches closer to each other could be adversely affected by the spirit of hatred and violence that characterizes the relations of Eastern Rite Roman Catholics with the Orthodox in Eastern Europe. Such possibility would have as an immediate consequence either the cancellation of the dialogue or its temporary postponement until practical solutions to this thorny issue of Uniatism could be found. During the dialogue, there were many glimpses of hope that the spirit of reconciliation and love was actively

working in order to preserve and advance the dialogue of the two churches so they may one day visibly celebrate their unity in Christ.

In reference to the problem of Uniatism, the dialogue discussed the Vienna report of the sub-commission for the study of the churches of Byzantine Rite united with Rome and the related problems of Uniatism and proselytism. This report was strongly criticized by Cardinal Willebrands indicating the official rejection of its recommendation by Rome. The Vienna report suggested the following: 1. Uniatism is no longer considered as a model for the union of the churches. Unity can only be achieved through the model of sister churches; 2) Any kind of soteriological exclusivism must be rejected as contradicting the ecclesiology of sister churches; 3) Proselytism must be denounced by the churches; 4) The use of liturgical rites and vestments which belong to the traditional heritage of one of the two churches should not be used by the other. This should be "strictly forbidden" because it is done with a view of proselytizing; 5) It repudiated the use of force and violence in order to solve the differences between the churches. This report, despite its official rejection by Rome, remains in the history of the dialogue as a serious attempt by the theologians of the two churches to solve the issue of "Uniatism" by respecting the tradition and integrity of each of the two churches and by recognizing their catholicity that overcomes all forms of soteriological exclusivism.

At the end of the sixth meeting of the Joint International Commission for the theological dialogue between the Roman Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church, a statement was issued that points out that the origins and existence of Byzantine Rite Roman Catholics continues to be a serious problem in the relations between Roman Catholics and Orthodox. The statement rejects "Uniatism" as a method of unity opposed to the common Tradition of the two Churches. It suggests the model of sister churches as the most promising ecclesiology that may lead the two churches into unity. The statement further reaffirms some of the points of the Vienna Report by denouncing proselytism and the use of violence in order to resolve differences among Christian churches. It calls for respect of religious liberty and suggests that resolutions of frictions between Christians in local situations should take into consideration the wishes of the local communities. Finally, the report stated that "dialogue which, is the most suitable way to work for unity, is also the most appropriate forum for conforming problems and particularly that of "Uniatism."

For this reason, it states that the dialogue must continue.

In conclusion, the journey of the two sister, but estranged, churches towards unity has been interrupted by a major obstacle that may lead them either to a retrenchment to disunity or it may be an opportunity for these churches to witness to each other that their bonds of unity are greater from the forces of disunity. The ability to find together peaceful and practical resolutions to the violent conflicts between the Eastern Rite Roman Catholics and the Orthodox in Eastern Europe will be a test of solidity of the theological foundations that their dialogue has already advanced and continues to develop.

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The Sacrament of Order in the Sacramental Structure of the Church with Particular Reference to the Importance of Apostolic Succession for the Sanctification and Unity of the People of God

JOINT INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION FOR THE THEOLOGICAL DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE ORTHODOX CHURCH

INTRODUCTION

1. Having expressed our idea of the mystery of the Church as a communion of faith and sacraments, pre-eminently manifested in the eucharistic celebration, our commission now addresses the crucial question of the place and role of ordained ministry in the sacramental structure of the Church. We will deal, then, with the sacrament of order as well as with ordination to each of the three degrees of episcopate, presbyterate, and diaconate. We rely on the certitude that in our Churches apostolic succession is fundamental for the sanctification and the unity of the people of God.

2. Our Churches affirm that ministry in the Church makes actual that of Christ himself. In the New Testament writings, Christ is called apostle, prophet, pastor, servant, deacon, doctor, priest, and *episkopos*. Our common tradition recognizes the close link between the work of Christ and that of the Holy Spirit.

3. This understanding prevents us seeing in the economy Christ in isolation from the Spirit. The actual presence of Christ in his Church is also of an eschatological nature, since the Spirit constitutes the earnest of the perfect realization of God's design for the world.

4. In this perspective the Church appears as the community of the New Covenant which Christ through the Holy Spirit gathers about

himself and builds up as his Body. Through the Church, Christ is present in history; through it he achieves the salvation of the world.

5. Since Christ is present in the Church, it is his ministry that is carried out in it. The ministry in the Church therefore does not substitute for the ministry of Christ. It has its source in him. There is no Church without the ministries created by the Spirit; there is no ministry without the Church, that is to say, outside and above the community. Ministries find their meaning and ground for existence in it. Since the Spirit sent by Christ gives life to the Church, ministry is only fruitful by the grace of the Spirit. In fact, it includes many functions which the members of the community carry out according to the diversity of the gifts they receive as members of the Body of Christ. Certain among them receive through ordination and exercise the function proper to the episcopate, to the presbyterate and to the diaconate.

1. CHRIST AND THE HOLY SPIRIT

6. The Spirit, which eternally proceeds from the Father and reposes on the Son, prepared the Christ event and achieved it. The incarnation of the Son of God, his death and his resurrection, were accomplished in fact according to the will of the Father, in the Holy Spirit. At the baptism, the Father through the manifestation of the Spirit inaugurates the mission of the Son. This Spirit is present in his ministry: the announcing of the Good News of salvation, the manifesting of the coming of the Kingdom, the bearing witness to the Father. Likewise, it is in the same Spirit that, as the unique priest of the New Covenant, Christ offers the sacrifice of his own life and it is through the Spirit that he is glorified.

7. Since Pentecost, in the Church which is his Body, it is in the Spirit alone that those who are charged with ministry can carry out the acts which bring the Body to its full stature. In the ministry of Christ as in that of the Church, it is the one and the same Spirit which is at work and which will act with us all the days of our life.

8. In the Church ministry should be lived in holiness, with a view towards the sanctification of the people of God. So that the whole Church and especially its ordained ministries might be able to contribute to "the perfecting of the saints for the work of ministry for building up the body of Christ," different services are made possible by many charisms (Eph 4.11-12; cf. 1 Cor 12.4-28; Rom 12.4-8).

9. The newness of the Church's ministry consists in this: Christ,

servant of God for humanity, is present through the Spirit, in the Church, his Body, from which he cannot be separated. For he himself is "the first-born amongst many brothers." It is according to this sacramental way that one must understand the work of Christ in history from Pentecost to the Parousia. The ministry of the Church as such is sacramental.

10. For this reason Christ's presence in the Church is also eschatological. Wherever the Spirit is at work, he actually reveals to the world the presence of the Kingdom in creation. Here is where ecclesial ministry is rooted.

11. This ecclesial ministry is by nature sacramental. The word sacramental is meant to emphasize here that every ministry is bound to the eschatological reality of the Kingdom. The grace of the Holy Spirit, earnest of the world to come, has its source in the death and resurrection of Christ and is offered, in a sacramental manner, by means of sensible realities. The word sacramental likewise shows that the minister is a member of the community whom the Spirit invests with proper functions and power to assemble it and to preside in the name of Christ over the acts in which it celebrates the mysteries of salvation. This view of the sacramentality of ministry is rooted in the fact that Christ is made present in the Church by the Spirit whom he himself has sent to the Church.

12. This nature of ecclesial ministry is further shown in the fact that all ministries are intended to serve the world so as to lead it to its true goal, the Kingdom of God. It is by constituting the eschatological community as Body of Christ that the ministry of the Church answers the needs of the world.

13. The community gathered in the Spirit around Christ exercising his ministry for the world has its foundation in Christ, who is himself the cornerstone, and in the community of the Twelve. The apostolic character of Churches and their ministry is understood in this light.

14. On the one hand, the Twelve are witnesses of the historic life of Jesus, of his ministry and of his resurrection. On the other, as associated with the glorified Christ, they link each community with the community of the last days. Thus the ecclesial ministry will be called apostolic because it is carried out in continuity and in fidelity to what was given by Christ and handed on in history by the apostles. But it will also be apostolic because the eucharistic assembly at which the minister presides is an anticipation of the final community with

Christ. Through this double relationship the Church's ministry remains constantly bound to that of the Twelve, and so to that of Christ.

2. THE PRIESTHOOD IN THE DIVINE ECONOMY OF SALVATION

15. The entire divine economy of salvation culminates in the incarnation of the Son, in his teaching, his passion, his glorious resurrection, his ascension and his second coming. Christ acts in the Holy Spirit. Thus, once and for all, there is laid the foundation for re-establishing the communion of man with God.

16. According to the epistle to the Hebrews, Christ by his death has become the one mediator of the New Covenant (Heb 9.15) and having entered once for all into the Holy Place with his own blood (Heb 9.12), he is forever in heaven the one and eternal High Priest of this New Covenant, "so as to appear now in the presence of God on our behalf" (Heb 9.24) to offer his sacrifice (Heb 10.12).

17. Invisibly present in the Church through the Holy Spirit, whom he has sent, Christ then is its unique High Priest. In him, priest and victim, all together, pastors and faithful, from a "chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people he claims as his own" (1 Pt 2.9; cf. Rv 5.10).

18. All members of the Church, as members of the Body of Christ, participate in this priesthood, called to become "a living sacrifice holy and acceptable to God" (Rom 12.1; cf. 1 Pt 2.5). Head of the Church, Christ has established, to make himself present, apostles chosen among the people, whom he endowed with authority and power by strengthening them through the grace of the Holy Spirit. The work and mission of the apostles are continued in the Church by the bishops with the priests and deacons who assist them. By ordination, the bishops are established successors of the apostles and direct the people along the ways of salvation.

19. Grouped around the glorified Lord, the Twelve give witness to the presence of the Kingdom, already inaugurated, which will be fully manifested at the second coming. Christ has indeed promised them that they would sit on twelve thrones, judging with the Son of Man the twelve tribes of Israel (Mt 19.28).

20. As historic witnesses of what the Lord accomplished, the ministry of the Twelve is unique and irreplaceable. What they laid down was founded, therefore once for all, and no one in the future could build except on the foundation thus established (Eph 2.20; Rv 21.14).

21. But the apostles remain at the same time the foundations of the Church as it endures through the ages, in such a way that the mission they receive from the Lord always remains visible and active, in expectation of the Lord's return (cf. Mt 18.18 and, earlier, 16.19).

22. This is why the Church, in which God's grace is at work, is itself the sacrament *par excellence*, the anticipated manifestation of the final realities, the foretaste of God's Kingdom, of the glory of the God and Father, of the *eschaton* in history.

23. Within this sacrament which is the Church, the priesthood conferred by ordination finds its place, being given for this Church. In fact, it constitutes in the Church a charismatic ministry (*leitourgēma*) *par excellence*. It is at the service of the Church's life and continued existence by the Holy Spirit, that is to say, of the unity in Christ, of all the faithful living and dead, of the martyrs, the saints, the just of the Old Testament.

3. THE MINISTRY OF THE BISHOP, PRESBYTER AND DEACON

24. In the celebration of the eucharist, the entire assembly each according to his or her status, is "liturge" of the *koinonia*, and is so only through the Spirit. "... there are varieties of ministries, but the same Lord (...). To each is given the manifestation of the Spirit for the common good" (1 Cor 12.5, 7). The various ministries converge in the eucharistic synaxis, during which they are conferred. However, their diversity is ordered to the entire life of the community: fidelity to the Word of God, abiding in harmony and fraternal charity, witness before "those outside," growth in holiness, constancy in prayer, care for the poorest.

25. Since it culminates in the celebration of the Eucharist in which Christian initiation is completed, through which all become one Body of Christ, the ministry of the bishop is, among all the charisms and ministries which the Spirit raises up, a ministry of presiding for gathering in unity. In fact, bearing the variety of gifts of the Spirit, the local Church has at its center the bishop, whose communion realizes the unity of all and expresses the fullness of the Church.

26. This unity of the local Church is inseparable from the universal communion of the Churches. It is essential for a Church to be in communion with the others. This communion is expressed and realized in and through the episcopal college. By his ordination, the bishop is made minister of a Church which he represents in the

universal communion.

27. Episcopal ordination, which, according to the canons, is conferred by at least two or three bishops, expresses the communion of the Churches with that of the person selected: it makes him a member of the communion of bishops. In the ordination the bishops exercise their function as witnesses to the communion in the apostolic faith and sacramental life not only with respect to him whom they ordain, but also with respect to the Church of which he will be bishop. What is fundamental for the incorporation of the newly elected person in the episcopal communion is that it is accomplished by the glorified Lord in the power of the Holy Spirit at the moment of the imposition of hands.

Here we are only considering ordination under its sacramental aspect. The problems raised by the manner of electing a bishop will be studied later.

28. Episcopal ordination confers on the one who receives it by the gift of the Spirit, the fullness of the priesthood. During the ordination the concelebration of the bishops expresses the unity of the Church and its identity with the apostolic community. They lay hands and invoke the Holy Spirit on the one who will be ordained as the only ones qualified to confer on him the episcopal ministry. They do it, however, within the setting of the prayer of the community.

29. Through his ordination, the bishop receives all the powers necessary for fulfilling his function. The canonical conditions for the exercise of his function and the installation of the bishop in the local Church will be further discussed by the Commission.

30. The gift conferred consecrates the recipient once for all to the service of the Church. This is a point of the traditional doctrine in East and West, which is confirmed by the fact that in the event of disciplinary sanctions against a bishop followed by canonical reintegration, there is no re-ordination. On this subject, as on all the essential points concerning ordination, our Churches have a common doctrine and practice, even if on certain canonical and disciplinary requirements, such as celibacy, customs can be different because of pastoral and spiritual reasons.

31. But ecclesial ministry is exercised through a variety of functions. These are exercised in interdependence; none could replace another. This is especially true of the fundamental ministries of the bishop, the presbyter and the deacon, and of the functions of the laity, all of which together give structure to the eucharistic community.

32. Throughout the entire history of our Churches, women have played a fundamental role, as witnessed not only by the most Holy Mother of God, but also by the holy women mentioned in the New Testament, by the numerous women saints whom we venerate, as well as by so many other women who up to the present day have served the Church in many ways. Their particular charisms are very important for the building up of the Body of Christ. But our Churches remain faithful to the historical and theological tradition according to which they ordain only men to the priestly ministry.

33. Just as the apostles gathered together the first communities, by proclaiming Christ, by celebrating the eucharist, by leading the baptised towards growing communion with Christ and with each other, so the bishop, established by the same Spirit, continues to preach the same Gospel, to preside at the same eucharist, to serve the unity and sanctification of the same community. He is thus the icon of Christ the servant among his brethren.

34. Because it is at the eucharist that the Church manifests its fullness, it is equally in the presiding at the eucharist that the role of the bishop and of the priest appears in its full light.

35. In the eucharistic celebration, in fact, believers offer themselves with Christ as a royal priesthood. They do so thanks to the ministerial action which makes present in their midst Christ himself who proclaims the Word, makes the bread and the cup become through the Spirit his Body and Blood, incorporating them in himself, giving them his life. Moreover, the prayer and the offering of the people incorporated in Christ are, so to speak, recapitulated in the thanksgiving prayer of the bishop and his offering of the gifts.

36. The eucharist thus realizes the unity of the Christian community. It also manifests the unity of all the Churches which truly celebrate it and further still the unity, across the centuries, of all the Churches with the apostolic community from the beginnings up to the present day. Transcending history, it reunites in the Spirit the great assembly of the apostles, of martyrs, of witnesses of all periods gathered around the Lamb. Indeed, as the central act of episcopal ministry it makes clearly present the world to come: the Church gathered in communion, offering itself to the Father, through the Son, in the Holy Spirit.

37. He who presides at the eucharist is responsible for preserving communion in fidelity to the teaching of the apostles and for guiding it in the new life. He is its servant and pastor. The bishop

is also the guide of the entire liturgical life of his local Church and, following his example, this Church becomes a community of prayer. He presides at its praise and at its intercession, and he himself prays unceasingly for all those entrusted to him by the Lord, knowing that he is responsible for each one before the tribunal of God.

38. It also rests with him to see to it that there be given to his people, by preaching and catechesis, the authentic content of the Word of God given to the apostles "once for all." He is in fact the primary one responsible for the preaching of the Word of God in his diocese.

39. To him also belongs the task of leading this people towards proclaiming to all human beings salvation in Jesus Christ, and towards a witness which embodies that proclamation. Therefore, it is for him to govern his Church in such a way that it always remains faithful to its Christian vocation and to the mission deriving therefrom. In all this, however, he remains a member of the Church called to holiness and dependent on the salvific ministry of this Church, as Saint Augustine reminds his community: "For you I am a bishop, with you I am a Christian." At his ordination the bishop makes his own the faith of the whole Church by solemnly confessing it and thus becomes father to the extent that he has fully become its son by this confession. It is essential for the bishop to be the father of his people.

40. As successor of the apostles, bishops are responsible for communion in the apostolic faith and fidelity to the demands of a life lived according to the Gospel.

41. It is in presiding over the eucharistic assembly that the role of the bishop finds its accomplishment. The presbyters form the college grouped around him during that celebration. They exercise the responsibilities the bishop entrusts to them by celebrating the sacraments, teaching the Word of God and governing the community, in profound and continuous communion with him. The deacon, for his part, is attached to the service of the bishop and the priest and is a link between them and the assembly of the faithful.

42. The priest, ordained by the bishop and dependent upon him, is sent to fulfil certain definite tasks; above all he is sent to a parish community to be its pastor: he presides at the eucharist at the altar (consecrated by the bishop), he is minister of the sacraments for the community, he preaches the Gospel and catechizes; it is his duty to keep in unity the charisms of the people (*laos*) of God; he appears as the ordinary minister of the local eucharistic community, and the diocese is thus a communion of eucharistic communities.

43. The diaconate is exercised at the service of the bishop and the priest, in the liturgy, in the work of evangelization and in the service of charity.

4.APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION

44. The same unique ministry of Christ and his apostles remains in action in history. This action is, through the Spirit, a break-through to "the world to come," in fidelity to what the apostles transmitted about what Jesus did and taught.

45. The importance of this succession comes also from the fact that the apostolic tradition concerns the community and not only an isolated individual, the ordained bishop. Apostolic succession is transmitted through local Churches ("in each city," according to the expression of Eusebios of Caesarea: "by reason of their common heritage of doctrine," according to Tertullian in the *De Praescriptione*, 32, 6). It is a matter of a succession of persons in the community, because the *Una Sancta* is a communion of local Churches and not of isolated individuals. It is within this mystery of *koinonia* that the episcopate appears as the central point of the apostolic succession.

46. According to what we have already said in the *Munich Document*, "apostolic succession, therefore, means something more than a mere transmission of powers. It is succession in a Church which witnesses to the apostolic faith, in communion with the other Churches, witnesses of the same apostolic faith. The 'see' (*cathedra*) plays an important role in inserting the bishop into the heart of ecclesial apostolicity" (*Munich Document*), II, 4). More precisely, the term "cathedra" is used here in the sense of the presence of the bishop in each local Church.

47. "On the other hand, once ordained, the bishop becomes in his Church the guarantor of apostolicity, the one who represents it within the *communion* of Churches, its link with the other Churches. That is why in his Church every eucharist can only be celebrated *in truth* if presided over by him or by a presbyter *in communion* with him. Mention of him in the anaphora is essential" (*ibid.*).

48. "Attachment to the apostolic communion joins together all the bishops, maintaining the *episkope* of the local Churches, to the college of the apostles" (*ibid.*, III, 4). The bishops are thus rooted in the 'once for all' of the apostolic group through which the Holy Spirit gives witness to the faith. Indeed, as the foundation of the Church, the Twelve are unique. Even so, it was necessary that other

men should make visible their irreplaceable presence. In this way the link of each community would be maintained with both the original community and the eschatological community.

49. Through his ordination each bishop becomes successor of the apostles, whatever may be the Church over which he presides or the prerogatives (πρεσβεῖα) of this Church among the other Churches.

50. Incorporated into the number of those to whom the particular responsibility for the ministry of salvation has been entrusted, and so placed in the succession of the apostles, the bishop ought to pass on their teaching as well as model his whole life on them. Irenaios of Lyons puts it thus: "It is where the charisms of God have been planted that we should be instructed in the truth, that is among those in whom are united succession in the Church from the apostles, unassailable integrity of conduct and incorruptible purity of doctrine" (*Against Heresies*. 4, 26, 5). Among the essential functions of the bishop is that of being in his Church through the Spirit a witness and guarantor of the faith and an instrument for maintaining it in apostolic fidelity. Apostolic succession is also a succession in the labours and sufferings of the apostles for the service of the Gospel and in the defense of the people entrusted to each bishop. According to the words of the first letter of Saint Peter, the apostolic succession is also a succession in the presence of mercy and understanding, of defense of the weak, of constant attention to those entrusted to their charge, with the bishop thus being a model for the flock (cf. 1 Pt 5.1-4; 2 Cor 4.12; Tt 2.7).

51. Furthermore it belongs to the episcopal ministry to articulate and organize the life of the Church with its service and offices. It is his task also to watch over the choice of those who are to carry out responsibilities in his diocese. Fraternal communion requires that all the members, ministers or lay people, listen to each other for the good of the people of God.

52. In the course of its history, the Church in East and West has known various forms of practicing communion among bishops: by exchange of letters, by visits of one Church to another, but principally by synodal or conciliar life. From the first centuries a distinction and a hierarchy was established between Churches of earlier foundation and Churches of more recent foundation, between mother and daughter Churches, between Churches of larger cities and Churches of outlying areas. This hierarchy of *taxis* soon found its canonical expression, formulated by the councils, especially in the canons

received by all the Churches of the East and West. These are, in the first place, canons 6 and 7 of the 1st Council of Nicea (325), canon 3 of the 1st Council of Constantinople (2nd Ecumenical Council, 381), canon 28 of Chalcedon (4th ecumenical Council, 451), as well as canons 3, 4 and 5 of Sardica (343) and canon 1 of the Council of Saint Sophia (879-880). Even if these canons have not always been interpreted in the same way in the East and in the West, they belong to the heritage of the Church. They assigned to bishops occupying certain metropolitan or major sees a place and prerogatives recognized in the organization of the synodal life of the Church. Thus was formed the pentarchy: Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, even if in the course of history there appeared apart from the pentarchy of other archbishops, metropolitans, primates and patriarchs.

53. The synodal character of episcopal activity showed itself especially in questions under discussion which interested several local Churches or the Churches as a whole. Thus in each region different types of synods or local and regional councils and conferences of bishops were organized. Their forms could change according to different places and times, but their guiding principle is to manifest and make efficacious the life of the Church by joint episcopal action, under the presidency of the one whom they recognized as the first among them. In fact, according to canon 34 of the apostolic canons belonging to the canonical tradition of our Churches, the first among the bishops only takes a decision in agreement with the other bishops and the latter take no important decision without the agreement of the first.

54. In ecumenical councils, convened in the Holy Spirit at times of crisis, bishops of the Church, with supreme authority, decided together about the faith and issued canons to affirm the Tradition of the apostles in historic circumstances which directly threatened the faith, unity and sanctifying work of the whole people of God, and put at risk the very existence of the Church and its fidelity to its Founder, Jesus Christ.

55. It is in this perspective of communion among local Churches that the question could be addressed of primacy in the Church in general and, in particular, the primacy of the bishop of Rome, a question which constitutes a serious divergence among us and which will be discussed in the future.

Uusi Valamo (Finland), June 26, 1988

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Uniatism: A Problem in the Dialogue Between the Orthodox and Roman Catholics*

THEODORE ZISSIS

IF THE SUB-COMMISSION OF THE DIALOGUE CREATED TO STUDY THE problem of Uniatism is to be successful in its task, it must avoid long and irrelevant analyses which can lead the sub-commission away from its main aim and focus its attention on satisfying the reason why it was set up. This reason lies in the fact that the Orthodox side, based on serious historical, ecclesiological and practical grounds, regards the promotion of Uniatism by the Roman Catholics as unacceptable, and as a major obstacle to the progress of the Dialogue.

Even before the beginning of the Dialogue, the positive outlook brought about by the Second Vatican Council's decree "On Ecumenism" concerning the relationship between the two Churches was followed by profound disappointment in the decree "On the Oriental Catholic Churches," which proposed better organization and the expansion of Uniate churches, as well as the establishment of new Uniate patriarchates. The Third Pan-Orthodox Conference in Rhodes (1964) strongly criticized this decree. Professor Ioannis Karmiris who participated at the Conference at Rhodes expressed the spirit of this conference in writing the following: "This decree is totally

*A paper read at the International Joint Commission for the Theological Dialogue between the Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church Joint Sub-Commission on Uniatism. Vienna — January 26-31, 1990.

unacceptable to the Orthodox and for this reason it was strongly criticized at the Third Pan-Orthodox Conference in Rhodes which had set as a mandatory condition for initiating the Dialogue between the Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church the abolishment of the Uniate Churches and their subjection and absorption in the Roman Catholic flock. This decree is generally considered by the Orthodox as a 'stone of scandal' and a powder-keg capable of blowing apart the Dialogue between the Orthodox East and the Latin West."¹

According to this Pan-Orthodox decision, in order for the Dialogue to begin, the Uniates had to be incorporated in the Latin rite of Roman Catholicism and historical Uniatism should cease to be. Therefore one may understand the difficult position in which the Orthodox members of the Dialogue found themselves at the beginning when, instead of a statement by the Roman Catholics in the direction proposed by the Pan-Orthodox Conference, they found themselves confronting a provoking, as it was characterized, move — that of individuals belonging to Uniate Churches being nominated as members of the Commission. The reactions, which nearly lead to the interruption of Dialogue at its inception, are well known. But a spirit of reconciliation and understanding prevailed; a spirit which lead to the adoption of an Orthodox text-statement by the Joint Commission as a whole. In this statement it was accepted that "First, the presence of Uniate Roman Catholics of the Oriental rite within the Roman Catholic delegation does not imply that the Orthodox Church recognizes Uniatism; and, second, the question of Uniatism remains open, as one of the problems with which the Dialogue will deal" in the future.

The reason this sub-commission was set up was for the study of the problem of Uniatism. Certainly, we Orthodox can assess now that we have been too flexible and concessive, and that after so many sessions of the Joint Commission, in spite of our insistence, not a single step has been made towards the solution of the problem. Moreover, the events in the Ukraine and in other countries have left us behind, consequently impairing the Orthodox delegation further. The Patriarchate of Jerusalem — represented by Metropolitan Germanos of Petra who, we all remember, always emphatically protested against the problem of Uniatism and proselytism — stated that it will no longer

¹ *Orthodox and Roman Catholicism* (Athens, 1965), 2, pp. 252-53.

participate in the Dialogue. The representative of the Church of Poland is absent, and we do not know why; perhaps because Rome proceeded to ordain a Uniate bishop in Poland, as Bishop Nossol informed us in his paper. We must say that this reaction is justified and perhaps it may continue if the sub-commission does not adopt concrete proposals immediately. Because even though the Pan-Orthodox Conference of Rhodes demands the abolishment of Uniatism, Rome plans to reinforce the Uniates in the Eastern countries where there is a downpour of political rearranging. Is it really fair to force local Orthodox autocephalous Churches to face the problem of Uniatism, instead of helping them in a brotherly way in their first steps towards freedom?

Nevertheless the insistence by the Orthodox that the thorn of Uniatism be eliminated, is, as it has been said, based on serious historical, ecclesiological, and pastoral grounds to which I shall briefly address myself.

Historical Development and Definition of Uniatism

Uniatism is unknown prior to the Schism when there was only one form of communion in the Church: the full unity of the faithful in faith, in worship, and in administration. Some diversity was allowed, such as local traditions when it did not affect the essential elements of unity. Particularly in the West, the insistence on uniformity was so inflexible that no other language, except Latin, was permitted in worship. This is clearly visible in the reaction to the mission of the two brothers, Saints Cyril and Methodios, who were sent from Constantinople to Bohemia and Moravia to Christianize the Slavs.

Heretics and schismatics were received into the body of the Church not because they recognized the primacy of the bishop of Rome — the idea of which did not exist at that time, since he celebrated as one who was equal to the other patriarchs within the framework of the pentarchy of the patriarchs — but because they formally rejected their heresy and accepted the faith of the catholic Church.

After the Schism, Rome found herself cut off from the great “trunk” of the catholic Church, represented in the East by the remaining four patriarchs, and limited only to the local church of the West. The Roman Church was lacking in her catholicity geographically as well as in the treasures of the faith and of worship with which the Eastern Orthodox Catholic Church was richly endowed.

So that she might fill the elements lacking in her catholicity, instead of pursuing authentic union, she has preferred a false union by recognizing the jurisdiction of the pope as being over the entire Church and by acquiring the liturgical and other treasures of the East. In this way it would appear, geographically as well as spiritually, as though the Latin Church were catholic because it encompasses the East and the West.

Union with the Eastern Christians initially was sought after through forced Latinization, which is clearly evident during the period of the Crusades. The history of many Orthodox regions is full of horrors, persecutions, and martyrs due to this forced imposition of the Latin faith. This method of returning heretics and scismatics, which provoked the hatred of the indigenous peoples for the West, was abandoned and condemned in the end, because, in spite of the fact that forced Latinization bore no permanent results and many returned to the original faith, it did not satisfy the need for multiformity and diversity in worship which is indispensable for the West's catholicity. In order to neutralize these disadvantages a new method of proselytizing the East was conceived and applied. And this is Uniatism, which does not require Latinization for incorporation into the Church, but allows the preservation of liturgical forms and other customs and usages; and in some cases it does not even require unity in faith, but simply the recognition of papal primacy.

This method of union which is plainly proselytization and which outwardly gives the impression that nothing changes, in fact proved to be effective. The well known Assumptionist monk Raymond Janin, in his book *Les Eglises orientales et les Rites orientaux*² found that of the three means used in "returning" the Eastern Christians to Rome — forced Latinization, individual proselytism, and Uniatism — the latter, which began the day after the Council of Ferrara-Florence and which later devised a system with the intent of using it as a means of returning the East through the Eastern Christians ("le retour de l'orient par les orientaux"), is the most successful and effective (*c'est assurément la meilleure de toutes les méthodes et la plus pratique*).

Therefore, on the basis of the aims and of the method of Uniatism, the definition of Uniatism formed by the great Orthodox ecclesiastical historian and archbishop of Athens, Chrysostomos Papadopoulos, gives

² (Paris, 1955).

a precise picture of how the Orthodox comprehend Uniatism. According to this definition, "Uniatism is fraudulent union and deceives the simple people, whereby one who unites himself with the Latin Church, accepts the primacy of the Pope and the entire doctrine of the Latin Church, on the one hand, but on the other preserves his own liturgical order and some of his own usages and customs, according to the Jesuit axiom *unité dans la foi, variété dans les rites* (unity in faith, diversity in rites) in order that those united be assimilated into the Latin Church gradually and not abruptly"³

This form of union with the Church of Rome of those "cut off" appears for the first time in the thirteenth century and takes definite shape at the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1437-1439) where the first Uniate bishops, members of the Council who had converted to Roman Catholicism, were the Orthodox metropolitans Bessarion of Nikaia and Isidoros of Kiev. It was systematically organized later by the Jesuits who, through unbearable pressures and machinations, imposed it successfully for the first time on the Orthodox of the Ukraine during the Council of Brest (1596), taking advantage of the political submission of the Ukrainians under King Sigismund of Poland. He had promised to abolish political and economic discrimination against the Orthodox clergy and to place the Orthodox on the same level with the Roman Catholics if they would proceed towards union with Rome on the basis of the decisions of the Council of Ferrara-Florence. The persecutions suffered by Ukrainian Orthodox in getting them to accept the Council of Brest have been described somberly in Russian church historiography. Even Archmandrite Nikephoros Katakouzenos, sent to Brest as a delegate of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, was condemned supposedly as a spy for the Turks and left to die of hunger in the prisons of Marienburg. The other delegate, Cyril Lucaris, of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, who later became Ecumenical Patriarch, was captured but succeeded in escaping. It is well known that in the end, as Patriarch of Constantinople, he did not escape the wrath of the Jesuits.

The experiment of Brest was repeated in Transylvania (Romania), where until the seventeenth century there was an unadulterated Orthodox population. But in 1688 when Transylvania was free of Turkish domination and was placed under the yoke of Roman Catholic Austro-

³ *Nature and Character of Uniatism* (Athens, 1928), p. 19.

Hungary, the Jesuits again persuaded Emperor Leopold I to impose the "union," which in fact was imposed through persecutions and martyrdoms after Metropolitan Athanasios officially converted to the Roman Church in 1698 at Alba Julia. The Orthodox, who refused to be subject to Rome, organized themselves in three autonomous churches: that of Karlovic, Vukovina and Hermanstat. Uniatism progressed thereafter in the Balkan and Middle East countries while under Turkish yoke. These countries, considered as *terrae missionis*, became the field of rivalry between Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries, who savagely took advantage of the bitter slavery, the ignorance, and the poverty of the Orthodox faithful. Even in the see of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople known Assumptionist monks established a Uniate mechanism. After the war between Greece and Turkey in 1922, Uniatism was brought to Greece by the known Uniate bishop of Theodoroupolis, Georgios Chalavazis, who established a Uniate community in Athens, taking advantage of the misery of the refugees coming from Asia Minor and Thrace. He was succeeded by Hyakinthos and then later by Anargyros, the present Uniate bishop who had been appointed by Rome only a few years before the opening of the Dialogue despite the impassioned appeal of the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece and of the Theological Faculty of Athens, that such an appointment would be an obstacle to the Dialogue. As a representative of the Church of Greece, I fully comprehend the bitterness of the Polish Orthodox with the ordination of a Uniate bishop in Poland in September 1989 and I ask: of what significance are the proposals of the Sub-commission in solving the problem when Rome, continuing in the Dialogue through the work of the Sub-commission, proceeds with reinforcing Uniatism in the Eastern countries. The act belies the theories.

So that it would not appear that the historical picture which I have drawn is my own arbitrary conception. I shall mention two Roman-Catholics, a Latin and a Uniate, who witness to this. The Jesuit monk Gabriel Patasci, in an article published in *Irenikon*⁴ writes: "Unions were generally created when Orthodox countries were in a period of political decline. It is not an accident, that while Constantinople was being threatened by Moslim invasion the Council of

⁴No. 41 (1968) 35.

Florence chose precisely this moment to lay the juridical foundations of Uniatism, so to speak. During the period of partial Unions, the Greek East and the Balkans were under Turkish yoke and the Ukraine was subject to the King of Poland." Also, the Uniate Bishop of Theodoroupolis, Georgios Chalavazis, mentioned above, at a lecture given in Bruxelles on February 14, 1936 in the presence of Cardinal Van Roey and published as a main article under the title "Suprême prière" in *Revue Catholique des Idées et des Faits*⁵ tried to convince his audience that the conditions in the Orthodox East are very favorable to proselytize through Uniatism because the Ecumenical Patriarchate is succumbing to the scouragings of Turkish machinations and phyletism of the Orthodox nations; the heirarchy vascillates and is corroded by rivalries, and, moreover, the uneducated clergy cannot stand up to the circumstances: La dislocation de l'Orthodoxie se marque tout à coup d'une manière évidente. Le grand Patriarcat succombe sous les coups des manoeuvres turques et les revendications philétistes des nations orthodoxes, la hierarchie vacille, rognée par les querelles de compétitions, le clergé ignorant est au dessous de sa tâche.⁶

Uniatism as an Ecclesiological Anomaly

It is not only the memory of their experiences — situations of political slavery and economic misery — which bring the Orthodox to reject Uniatism. There are serious ecclesiological reasons why Uniatism is rejected as a model for the union of the Churches.

First, Uniatism, as it has already been said, involves the application of the decisions of the Council of Ferrara-Florence which have been condemned by the ecclesial conscience of the Orthodox Church, and, consequently, so has the model of unity which came out of these decisions. Recent research on this council, as Bishop Nossol informs us, indicates that this ecclesiastical assembly of representatives of the East and of the West cannot be characterized as a council toward unity in the true sense of the word.

With Eastern Rite Roman Catholics Rome tries to give the impression of catholicity while concealing the wound of separation and

⁵ "Suprême prière," *Revue Catholique des Idées et des Faits* (1936).

⁶ *Ekklesia*, 14, 1936, No. 20, p. 159.

division. Following this line of thinking, the Roman Church is not a local Church limited to the confines of the jurisdiction of Rome as when the pentarchy existed, but the catholic church having jurisdiction over the whole Church, East and West. But according to our Orthodox understanding, the legitimate patriarchs in the East are not those united with the bishop of Rome, but the Orthodox patriarchs who continue the established ecclesiastical order from the time before the Schism. Uniate patriarchs are products of the Bishop of Rome aimed at filling the vacuum left by the lack of catholicity. Conversely, the Orthodox avoided establishing an Orthodox patriarch in place of the Bishop of Rome. Rather, they continue to respect the historical legitimacy of the Throne of Rome.

The existence of Eastern Churches united with Rome makes the Orthodox Churches contestable from an ecclesiological point view and challenges conducting the Dialogue on equal terms. The Orthodox ecclesologically do not constitute one of two equal parts in the Dialogue, but are part of a reduced ecclesiological substance which can be substituted at any time by the Uniates.

The recognition of the primacy of jurisdiction of the pope over the entire Church is steadily the indispensable — *sine qua non* — condition of existence of Uniatism. This claim constitutes the greatest obstacle for reproachment between the Churches. The preservation of Uniatism, however, automatically *signifies also the preservation of the primacy of the pope.*

A consequence precisely concerning this ecclesologically unacceptable claim is the degradation of the patriarchal office by the pope, since it is the pope who transmits patriarchal authority. The devaluation of the Uniate patriarchs in the decree "On the Oriental Churches" caused their intense reaction, which was expressed in their synod by Patriarch Maximos IV of Antioch who, among other things, said: "The patriarch is not merely some kind of honorary distinction. Therefore, his office should not be only an external expression of his actual importance. That is why it is not benefitting to shower the Oriental patriarchs with esteem and places of honor, and then treat them afterwards as servants, whose authority depends in every respect always on mandatory recourses to the congregation of the Roman Curia for petty things."⁷ The Benedictine monk Hoeck said in the

⁷ *Katholikè*, 36, 1964, fol. 1412, p. 4.

council: "Today the patriarchates are not but shadows of their primitive substance, and looked upon with disdain for which Catholicism is responsible. The patriarchal institution is the real pivot of the entire East. Our separated brothers judge us precisely on the basis of this point, for it constitutes, according to them, the most essential test. In fact they wonder how they would end up, if there were to be reunion with Rome. Would they depend on the cardinals or on the curia? But a scenario like this but this would be entirely impossible and is contrary to the totality of tradition . . . For a thousand years the Eastern Church freely elected her patriarchs and bishops, she founded her ecclesiastical eparchies, she regulated her liturgical life, her canon law etc. The autonomy of the patriarchs was absolute."⁸

Is there a more dramatic description about where the ecclesiology of Rome, exclusive unto itself, is headed, as it was expressed even in the Second Vatican Council?

Uniatism and Proselytism

The preservation by the Uniates of liturgical rites, customs, and usages of the East, and of the outward dress of the clergy is rejected by the Orthodox not only because the forms and rites when cut off from the faith lose their soul and die, but also because when Uniates appear as Orthodox, it is easy for the innocent people to be seduced by their deliberate proselytism. The problem of rites and liturgical vestments of the clergy intensifies still if one takes into consideration that in the Roman Catholic Church not only the Uniates but even the clergy of the Latin rite can celebrate liturgies of the Byzantine rite and wear the liturgical dress of the Orthodox clergy.

Regarding forced separation of liturgical rites and one's faith, I will simply cite the very characteristic opinion of Louis Bouyer, a former member of the Joint Commission for our Dialogue: "Nothing better proves the incurable shrewdness of those who desire to utilize the Byzantine liturgy apart from its corporality in order to attract the Eastern Orthodox to Latin Christianity. Such separation is inconceivable. We cannot take the liturgy of Byzantium without taking Byzantine Christianity in its entirety. Otherwise, that which we

⁸ *Katholikè*, 36, 1964, No. 1413, p. 4.

take resembles as little to the liturgy of Hagia Sophia or of the holy Apostles as a puppet does to a real person.”⁹ Similarly, Congar writes that Uniatism in this case appears to be a caricature and contradiction to unity itself: *L’Unia apparaît comme étant la caricature et la contradiction même de l’unité.*¹⁰

The shrewed seduction of the faithful with liturgical forms and outward appearances in order to promote proselytism has caused, and causes, the justified reaction of the Orthodox. The great Patriarch Joachim III appealed to the Turkish government and succeeded in prohibiting the Uniates from wearing Orthodox liturgical vestments. Likewise, in Greece the use of Orthodox dress is prohibited by law and upheld by court decisions. From the vast amount of material I should like to refer to a relevant passage from the response given by Chrysostomos Papadopoulos, Archbishop of Athens and professor at the Theological Faculty of the University of Athens, to the Uniate Bishop Georgios Chalavazis: “Believe me that Uniatism is always horrible to us Orthodox for it represents fraud and deception in matters of religion. Uniatism is an illegitimate product which, through deceit, tries to attract the Orthodox Christian to the Latin Church. It is not a sincere attempt for union. We respect the sincere sermon of Latin clergymen, but allow me to say that we abhor the sermon of one who represents Uniatism . . . If you really belong to the Latin Church and sincerely desire to work for her, then present yourself as a Latin clergyman. It is neither Christian nor dignified to appear as an Orthodox and maintain that you are the same as the Orthodox hierarchs, the only difference being you recognize the pope of Rome: This is not being truthful.”¹¹

One can understand how justified the Orthodox are if one considers that the Orthodox themselves never attempted to utilize Western liturgical rites or Latin vestments for reasons of proselytism to Orthodoxy.

Proposals for the Solution of the Problem of Uniatism

For the Orthodox, the decision of the Pan-Orthodox Conference

⁹ *Nostalgia of Orthodoxy* (Athens, 1956), p. 86.

¹⁰ “1054-1954, L’Eglise et les Eglises, Neuf siècles de douloureuse séparation entre l’Orient et l’Occident,” *Irénikon* 1(1926) 42.

¹¹ *Anaplasia* 41 (1928) vol. 9, pp. 113-14.

of Rhodes on abolishing Uniatism and incorporating Eastern Rite Roman Catholics into mainstream Roman Catholicism still holds. Today, when so much is being said about human rights and there is such an explosive atmosphere of freedom in the Eastern European countries, it would help a great deal in solving this problem if the free right of the Uniates to join themselves fully either to Roman Catholicism or to Orthodoxy were recognized; then the intermingling of rites and liturgical dress will finally cease.

It would help to lessen the tension and not hinder the course of the Dialogue if the Roman Catholic Church would avoid actions, such as ordaining new Uniate bishops, which manifest the intention to further reinforce and develop Uniatism. If these actions continue, the participation of the Orthodox in the Dialogue will become even more problematic.

The use of Eastern liturgical rites and the wearing of Orthodox vestments not only by Uniates but also by Latin clergyman must gradually be limited and finally abolished, as it is particularly offensive to the Orthodox. This would help in the gradual assimilation of Uniates either in the one or in the other church.

As positive elements of the work of the sub-commission the following might be proposed: 1) That it be recognized that Uniatism is not a model for union; 2) That Uniatism developed within an ecclesiology which no longer applies; 3) That proselytism of any kind which violates the freedom of religious conscience and uses deceptive and illegitimate means is to be condemned.

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**World Mission and Evangelism:
WCC/CWME Conference
(San Antonio, Texas — May, 1989)**

ALEXANDER VERONIS

FOR TEN DAYS, CHRISTIANS FROM SEVENTY-SIX COUNTRIES GATHERED in San Antonio, Texas, from May 22-31, 1989. They met under the auspices of the Commission on World Mission and Evangelism (CWME) of the World Council of Churches (WCC). "Thy will be done . . . mission in Christ's way" was the theme of this historic conference. Over 700 delegates, consultants, resource persons, observers, and press persons attended. Eighty-five of these were members of the Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox Churches. This comprised the largest contingency of Orthodox Christians present at such an ecumenical conference since the inception of the International Missionary Council (IMC) in Edinburgh in 1910. The IMC later became the CWME of the WCC (1961).

The makeup of the conference included 46% women, 70% persons from the third world, 15% youth, a good balance of lay and ordained people, and a wide spectrum of the worldwide Christian community with Catholics, Protestants, and the Orthodox well represented. Many voices from all continents and races on earth were heard as the delegates dialogued to discover God's will and how to do mission in Christ's way.

Bishop Anastasios Yannulatos of Androussa, a professor from the University of Athens and a recognized authority on Orthodox missiology, served as moderator. His charge at the first plenary session delineated the biblical and ecclesiological basis for mission. "Every Christian (must) realize that mission . . . to the whole of

humankind . . . is our obligation. Just as there is no church without a worshiping life, so there cannot be a living church without missionary life . . . God's will is . . . to unite all things in Christ . . . in heaven and heart. . . ."

Messages of the Keynote Speakers

Three excellent keynote speeches, delivered on the second day of the conference, set the tone for the following week of deliberations. They were delivered by Dr. Eugene L. Stockwell, the Executive Director in Geneva of the WCC Commission on World Mission and Evangelism (CWME) on the topic of "Mission Issues for Today and Tomorrow"; by the Moderator Bishop Anastasios and by Dr. Emilio Castro, General Secretary of the World Council of Churches. The latter two spoke on the theme "Thy Will Be Done: Mission in Christ's Way."

Stockwell's speech described the make-up of the first international missionary conference held seventy-nine years ago in Edinburgh (1910) and attended by 1200 delegates. 99% of those delegates had come from North Atlantic countries and were "an over-whelmingly Protestant white, male gathering shaping a mission from the West to the rest." The San Antonio Conference by comparison, he pointed out, included participants "from all corners of the world, representing all continents, all major races, female (46%) and male alike, Orthodox and Protestant, in a city largely Roman Catholic" to which the Vatican had sent forty observers. He expressed gratitude for progress shown in changed attitudes as well. "Gone, thank God, is the pretentious ignorance that the best is in the West" Stockwell remarked in a perceptive speech marked with eloquence and compassion. He continued, "Present is a growing humility that knows human power has limits, that technology will not save us, that vulnerability is our human condition . . . we are called to conversion to Jesus Christ in our personal lives, in our communities, and in the structures of society, that we may discover life abundant . . . we are called to share what we have received from God with all the peoples and nations of the earth, respectfully and with sensitivity to culture and diversity . . . Too often the church has stressed numerical growth rather than spiritual depth, power rather than the vulnerability of the cross." Stockwell stressed the identity between Christ and the poor who find their wealth in God. Much authentic Christian witness occurring in the church today, he pointed out, takes place in "Unexpected Nazareths" such as black communities in South Africa, in Indian villages, in Chinese nascent

house churches, in human rights movements, and from other struggling people.

Stockwell directed attention to four critical issues facing the world of global Christian mission today: 1) He mentioned first "the relation of unity and mission" and lamented over the divisions that persistently separate Christian churches from each other. He commended the Roman Catholics, the Orthodox, and the conservative Protestant evangelicals for their respective strengths and contributions to the Christian witness. Simultaneously he pleaded for greater commitment by all Christians to achieve "a new unity, visible and real, so that in the specifics of our worship, living and witness, the world might know that we are what Jesus prayed for: one." Unity and mission among Christians on the parochial level through concrete manifestations of ecumenical cooperation is also essential, he emphasized.

2) "Gospel and Culture" represents a second critical issue that churches in mission must deal with, Stockwell said. Disdain for other human cultures, gunboat diplomacy, simplistic presentations of the gospel, patriotic nationalism which assumes to be Christian, oppression of the poor and the subjugation of women, and similar practices can no longer have a place in Christian mission if they are to be faithful to the gospel of Christ. Stockwell observed that "many evangelistic efforts, however well-intentioned, have run rough shod over people's customs and cultures, often allied to military and colonialist powers."

3) The third and most controversial section of Stockwell's address fell under the heading "Christian relationship to people of other great religious faiths of humankind." Stockwell reaffirmed the Christian belief in "one God, revealed in Jesus Christ, fully and for all humanity" and that "the Holy Spirit witnesses to Jesus Christ." Yet when responding to the often asked question in relation to people of other faiths (Muslims, Buddhists, Hindus, Jews, etc.), "Is Jesus the only way?," Stockwell agreed with three answers given by Dr. Pauline Webb, an ecumenist from Great Britain, who responds to the question, "Yes," "no" and "I don't know." Although he qualified each response in his effort to avoid the arrogance and intolerance that he feels has often characterized Christians in their mistaken opinions and distortions of other faiths, he found difficulty saying unequivocally, "Yes Christ ultimately is the only way to God and heaven and salvation." Rather, he left this judgment in God's hands. Unlike us, he implied, God alone is infallible.

4) The fourth critical issue, said Stockwell, was what he described as "the defense of life." Here he made a plea for peace and justice for all people in the name of Christ. When failing to stand on the side of the world's downtrodden, Christian mission will have a hollow ring, Stockwell said. He invited all Christians who seek to do "mission in Christ's way" to make their witness an existential experience that deals with human pain wherever it is.

The keynote address by Bishop Anastasios approached the theme from a deeply theological perspective. Intensely spiritual, it reminded the conference participants of the omnipresence of human pride, loneliness, and hopelessness when people deny the supremacy of God's will. He stressed that if the Church wishes to do God's will and conduct mission in Christ's way, it will live with joy and optimism, praying incessantly "that all persons and all things may become heaven," as Origen wrote. Christian optimism, he said, even in the midst of an evil world, stems from the cross and resurrection of Christ. Christ's ultimate victory over sin, death, and corruption is followed by the great commission he gives to his disciples to preach the gospel to all nations and peoples. Moreover, Christian mission has a trinitarian connection, continued Bishop Anastasios, because it entails the cooperation of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit which Holy Trinity "creates, provides, saves."

Understanding the incarnation of Christ the Word of God, which Bishop Anastasios described as "the definitive event in the history of humankind", helps people see Christian salvation applying to all of creation, both spiritual and material. Add to this the dynamics of Love, he added, as "the living center of all", epitomized in Christ who "through. . .in the form of God. . .emptied himself. . .humbled himself and became obedient unto death" in order to unite the human person to God. The bishop then spoke of "the paradox of humility and the sacrifice of the cross" and observed that "this holy humility (of Christ), which is ready to accept the ultimate sacrifice, is the mystical power behind Christian mission. Mission will always be a service that entails acceptance of dangers, sufferings, and humiliations, the experience of human powerlessness and at the same time the power of God." Christians, however, can endure all things as they preach and seek to live the Christian gospel because they possess the knowledge of Christ's resurrection, as well as the eschatological hope he gives to his followers. "All, of whatever age and class, rich or poor, obscure or famous, illiterate or learned, in their heart of

hearts long to celebrate the resurrection and the 'celestification' of life. In this the prospect of mission in Christ's way reaches its culmination" said Bishop Anastasios.

With the above theological presuppositions, supported by biblical teaching as understood by the ancient Orthodox Church, Bishop Anastasios then spoke of the fullness and catholicity of Christian mission. "The whole world, not only humankind but the entire universe, has been called to share in the restoration that was accomplished by the redeeming work of Christ" he remarked. The process of redemption demands from us a personal commitment which includes personal sanctification, continuous repentance, new life in Christ, holy intoxication of love (especially through the Holy Eucharist), acquisition of the Holy Spirit, identification with the entire body of Christ wherever it suffers, participation in the missionary process, continuation of the ecumenical dialogue both among Christians and with people of other world faiths. Bishop Anastasios concluded his insightful speech with a challenge to the conference participants to focus their attention on four groups of critical issues that face contemporary Christians, namely, 1.) turning to the living God, 2.) participating in suffering and struggle, 3.) the earth is the Lord's, and 4.) toward renewed communities in mission.

The third major speech by Dr. Emilio Castro, as might be expected from the WCC General Secretary, made a strong appeal for the continuation of ecumenical dialogue and cooperation among Christians. "Ecumenical solidarity is fundamental to seeking to discern God's will and to do it in obedience." The diakonia of the Church in serving others must be rooted in prayer and on "bended knee" Castro stressed. He warned modern Christians not just to look to technology and the "rule of efficiency" in doing Christ's work. In agreement with the other keynote speakers, he firmly called attention to the earth's suffering, marginalized, and powerless people. When Christians focus on such people they are doing mission in Christ's way. Like Bishop Anastasios, he stressed the eschatological view of human life, "We enter into history in the knowledge that the one who came to us in Jesus Christ is the one who, at the end of history, will come to judge the quick and the dead."

Castro warned the churches against fanaticism, caricaturing others whose Christian views differ from theirs, and against pronouncing anathemas. In seeking God's will, some readily fall into arrogance and selfishness he said. While emphasizing the Christian commit-

ment to Jesus Christ as "constant point of reference that is central and essential to our missions," Castro made the most extensive plea of the three keynote addresses for dialogue "with people who confess other religious creeds, or who find it impossible to react to the dimension of mystery that we (Christians) call faith." On one hand he said "God's sovereign will has been perfectly fulfilled in Jesus Christ" but was careful not to appear triumphalistic as he remarked, "We acknowledge that others are engaged in God's mission even without knowing the name of Jesus." He concluded that Christians "are obliged to live out (their) confession in interaction with other living faiths, in dialogue with the questions raised by contemporary scientists, and in confrontation with the powers of oppression and death." Castro suggested that Christians need to live the liberating gospel of Christ in humility and with dependence upon the Holy Spirit's guidance, but with awareness that only God has absolute answers.

The Conference

Armed with the challenging insights given by the three keynote speeches, the conference then began its work. Each day started with a service of the Holy Eucharist at 6:30 A.M., celebrated at various locations by different churches in their particular traditions. These services of song, scripture, dance and instrumental music were creative, original, joyful, thought - provoking, and highly inspirational. The worship materials used were taken from a wide variety of Christian traditions, including Orthodox, Protestant, and Catholic sources. Delegates of all these churches also participated in the leadership of each service, as well in the large mixed ecumenical choir that sang everyday.

Small group Bible studies followed the daily morning worship services. The conference delegates were assigned to one of forty groups. Dr. Petros Vassiliades, an Orthodox professor of New Testament from Greece, Sister Patricia Stowers of the Roman Catholic Church, and Dr. Milton Schwantes from the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Brazil prepared study documents on the gospel of Luke for the forty leaders. The group leaders included men and women as well as representatives from the Protestant, Orthodox and Catholic Churches. Stimulating discussions ensued as the delegates grappled with passages from Luke's gospel, the "missionary Gospel" par excellence of the Church. The passages selected were the Magnificat (Lk 1.38 - 55), Jesus'

preaching (Beatitudes, Lk 6.17 - 26), a parable (the Great Banquet, Lk 14.12 - 24), Jesus in his suffering (Gethsemane, Lk 22.39 - 46) and resurrection (Emmaus, Lk 24.13 - 34), plus Lk 8.11 - 15, and 10.1,17.

These biblical selections were chosen because they introduced spiritual insights that spoke directly to issues faced by contemporary humanity, with answers found in the ageless gospel of Christ. Luke's gospel, we realized anew through the studies, takes a wholistic view of life as it deals with subjects of poverty, suffering, justice, feminism, racism, mercy, forgiveness, faith, hope, mission, the universality of salvation in Christ, humility, self - denial, service, joy, the Triune God, the future and eschatology. Too it gives Christian solutions for both the material and spiritual concerns of our existence. The Bible studies provided a useful background, the types of information we needed, as well as a sympathetic atmosphere which enabled us to see the conference topics with the eyes of Christ. They encouraged us to think and do mission in Christ's way and with his divine love.

The Sub - Themes and Sectional Reports

Considerable time was devoted to the four sub - themes of the conference mentioned by the moderator as representing a series of critical issues of concern to Christians today trying to do evangelism and mission. Each sub - theme section contained four or five related subjects, each of which received the attention and study by assigned delegates. Thus in Section One, "TURNING TO THE LIVING GOD", the delegates considered the topics of: 1.) Mission in the Name of the Living God, 2.) The Living God Calls Us to Unity in Mission, 3.) Witness in a Secular Society, 4.) Witness Among People of Other Living Faiths, and 5.) Communicating the Gospel Today "Acts in Faithfulness" followed each sectional report, in which the delegates committed themselves to a course of action that would implement their convictions on the topic they presented.

For example on the topic number four above the report concluded, "Since God's mystery in Christ surpasses our understanding and since our knowledge of God's saving power is imperfect, we Christians are called to be witnesses to others, not judges of them. We also affirm that it is possible to be non - aggressive and missionary at the same time, that it is in fact, the only way of being truly missionary." In the fifth topic above, the report states that "In all communications of the gospel, power must be subordinated to love. . . Christian communication does not end with the proclamation of the

message, but continues in an unending process directed to the education and formation of persons in the Christian life. . .and to apprehend how Christ enters into and claims all of life, guiding one's priorities and action in every aspect of life."

In the "Acts of Faithfulness" at the conclusion of these two reports, the delegates affirmed "that witness does not preclude dialogue with people of other living faiths, but dialogue extends and deepens our witness." And on the topic of communication of the gospel, the delegates committed themselves "to assist and enable the WCC to develop one significant music ministry project for youth from each continent to communicate the gospel message and values". This latter commitment resulted from a sensitized awareness made by young people as to the great role music plays in interpreting their values.

Section two dealt with the general topic, "Participating in Suffering and Struggle." It made this claim in its opening statement, "Participating in suffering and struggle is at the heart of God's mission and God's will for the world. It is central for our understanding of the incarnation, the most glorious example of participation in suffering and struggle. The church is sent in the way of Christ bearing the marks of cross in the power of the Holy Spirit (Jn 20.19 - 23)." In their "Acts of Faithfulness" the delegates of this section called attention to suffering caused by the Palestinian struggle, the struggle for freedom in Namibia, the self-determination struggles of indigenous people who have lost their ancestral lands, economic justice in the third world, the violence and unending fighting in Lebanon, the problem of apartheid in South Africa. To these and similar human problems, the call was made to Christians to stand along side of the suffering in their afflictions, in the name of the incarnate Christ.

Section three studied the topic "The Earth Is the Lord's" and affirmed that "the whole creation belongs to the Triune God. . . (and that) "God has given the earth to the whole human family to work it and take care of it." God calls Christians to be responsible stewards of his creation. Many implications of this Christian teaching were discussed, as for example the ownership and exploitation of land by a few in many areas of the earth, while millions of their neighbors remain landless, hungry, and poor.

"Towards Renewed Communities in Mission," the fourth sectional report, stressed the communal life present in the Holy Trinity, which offers a model for Christians to emulate. Christians are called to break down barriers that separate people and to build bridges that unite, just

as Christ “with His own body broke down the middle wall that separated us in order to create a new people in union with himself, in this way making peace” (Eph 2.14,15). In the “Acts in faithfulness” of this section it was suggested that “as far as possible all sharing of personnel in mission can be undertaken ecumenically. . . (and that) we enlist our member churches and the WCC to develop appropriate structures of ecumenical sharing of persons for mission where priorities are established, resources are shared, and monitoring and accountability are ensured around a common table.”

The Orthodox Delegation's Concern

The Orthodox delegation, consisting of eighty - five members, issued a statement during the conference expressing concern over some non - traditional language used at the worship services and in some conference documents. The statement reaffirmed the Orthodox Church's belief in the Holy Trinity and reminded the conference of the WCC's same commitment to this unifying doctrine. To quote the Orthodox statement, “Faith in the Triune God constitutes *the basis* of the World Council of Churches. The concession of the holy name of the Father, the divinity of the Son and the existence of the Holy Spirit as a hypostasis (person) and their unity in the divine essence of God is the fundamental presupposition of the participation of the Orthodox Churches to the World Council of Churches. . . We, unequivocally, affirm that Jesus Christ is our God and Saviour. ‘He is the way, the truth and the life’ (Jn 14.6). He is the one who saves us and leads us to unity.” Too, the statement notified the conference that the issue of the ordination of women to the Orthodox priesthood was not subject to debate “since it is contrary to the Christology, Ecclesiology, Tradition and practice of the Church throughout the centuries.” The statement was firm yet irenic in tone and concluded as follows: “We submit this consideration in a spirit of love, for the sake of the integrity of our Christian Fellowship and of our unhindered ecumenical involvement in the World Council of Churches.” This concern of the Orthodox received a reassuring response as reflected in the opening sentence of the conference's final “Message” which states, “In the name of the Triune God, Creator of heaven and earth, Saviour and Comforter, people gathered from all parts of the world in San Antonio, Texas, as a World Mission and Evangelism Conference of the World Council of Churches, under the theme, *Your Will Be Done, Mission In Christ's Way.*”

Conclusion

In an official document of the WCC entitled "Mission and Evangelism - An Ecumenical Affirmation" (1982) the text states that the WCC's aim is "to assist the Christian community in the proclamation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ by word and deed to the whole world to the end that all may believe in Him and be saved." The CWME admirably implemented this goal in San Antonio for these reasons:

1. It brought together a well - balanced, diverse, inclusive group of participants from Catholic, Protestant, and Orthodox traditions, as well as representatives of other world religions. Opportunities to dialogue with Christians from numerous countries were plentiful. In this atmosphere, the global became microcosmic. The Gospel's impact on people of diverse nations, tribes, races, and languages became obvious.

2. San Antonio presented a holistic approach to evangelism and mission as it tackled the urgent human issues of our time. On the one hand it addressed courageously and in the spirit of Christ's compassion problems of the here and now. On the other hand it spoke to the eternal view of life, involving spiritual, theological, ecclesiological, and eschatological perspectives.

3. Commitment to the gospel of Jesus Christ, Lord and Savior of all creation, was refreshingly presented in San Antonio with firmness, humility and conviction, yet without the smugness and triumphalism that sometimes characterizes evangelistic and mission gatherings.

4. The voices of youth and women were amply represented and heard. Their presence will inevitably sensitize the churches to the burning issues that concern them.

5. San Antonio demonstrated how the vast diversity of the human race can still be united in love and cooperation when Christians seek to do Christ's will and mission in his way.

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